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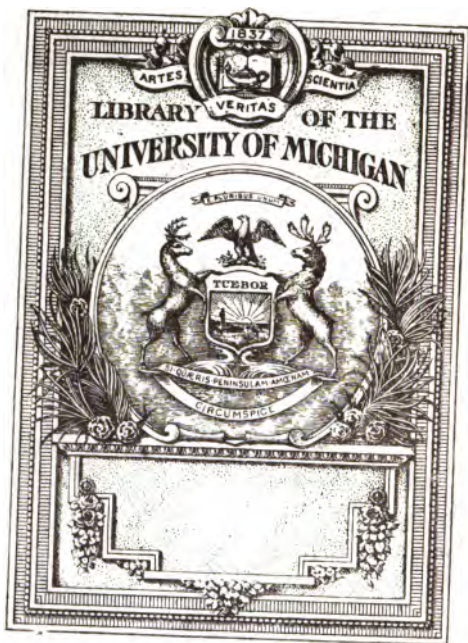
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THE AMERICAN LABOR YEAR BOOK

1917-18

**EDITED BY
ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG**

**DIRECTOR, DEPARTMENT OF LABOR RESEARCH,
RAND SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE**

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PREFACE

The first volume of the American Labor Year Book, published in the Fall of 1916, was accorded an enthusiastic reception in the ranks of the labor movement as well as outside of it. The Year Book found its way to many a public and college library, government bureau, industrial and commercial corporation, labor union and Socialist office, as well as to the desks of teachers, publicists, social workers and other persons interested in the progress of the labor movement. Socialist propagandists, labor leaders and university professors have equally found the Year Book a useful reference volume and the editor was assured that the publication supplied a long-felt want.

It was hoped that the second volume would be brought out last Fall. The abnormal conditions arising out of the continuance of the international conflict unfortunately caused delay in the preparation of a large portion of the book. The gathering of information concerning the international Socialist and labor movements was especially hampered. With the entrance of the United States into the European war, a number of problems had arisen which demanded consideration and the contents of the book had to be materially changed.

The book is again divided into six parts. Articles dealing with the effect of the war on labor, the extent of collectivism and the reaction of the Socialist and labor movements toward the war are included in the first part of the volume. Part II contains material regarding the labor movement in the United States, including accounts of various strikes, labor trials, the railway labor dispute and brief histories of two leading international unions. The editor hopes to print in every edition of the Year Book short histories of different labor unions, written by their active members, which will in time make up a collection of valuable material for the student of labor union history.

Articles dealing with labor and the law, including a review of labor legislation, court decisions affecting labor, arbitration in various countries, as well as special articles on workmen's compensation, health insurance, arbitration in Australia and mothers' pensions in the United States, are included in the third section of the book. Part IV contains a number of articles under the head of what the editor chose to call for want of a more definite title—Social and Economic Conditions. Here are included, among other things, special articles on the high cost of living, infant mortality, railroad ownership, occupational diseases, the economics of the Negro problem, the land problem, apprentice-

ship and industrial education, municipal ownership in the United States and abroad, woman suffrage, the initiative and referendum and prohibition.

The following section is devoted to a description of the progress of the international Socialist, labor and co-operative movements, by countries. Last year's material is condensed and a great deal of what occurred during the years of 1916 and 1917, the information of which could be obtained, is included. The material for this section was mainly supplied by Ludwig Lore, Associate Editor of the New York *Volkszeitung*, whose close acquaintance with the international movement was very helpful in the preparation of this portion of the book. The editor drew upon his own sources of information for the article on Russia and it roughly represents his interpretation of the events which occurred there up to the writing of the article. The subsequent developments seem to have substantiated the ideas set forth in the article.

The last part of the book deals with the Socialist movement in the United States. Special articles on the results of the last presidential campaign, the activities of Socialists holding public office, the Unity Conference of the two Socialist parties in this country, the St. Louis Convention of the Socialist Party and an account of the results of the recent election are included in this section.

The present book is almost entirely a new volume. The editor originally planned to reprint a number of valuable articles from the first volume. Lack of space forced him to omit those articles, as well as a great deal of material which was especially prepared for this edition. It will be almost a necessity for those using the Year Book to secure last year's edition in order to get the background for a great deal of material contained in this volume.

The editor takes this opportunity to thank the various contributors whose ready and genuine co-operation was both an inspiration and a great aid. His gratitude is especially due to David P. Berenberg and Spencer Brodney, who gave a great deal of their time and ability to editorial work; to George N. Cohen, who diligently read the proofs, to Frank V. Anderson, who helped with the index and to Edith Heller and Rosalind Kohn who read copy and proofs. The editor again enters his request for helpful criticism and suggestions for guidance in preparation of future editions.

ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG.

January, 1918.

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PART ONE

LABOR AND WAR

THE UNITED STATES IN THE WAR

On April 18, 1916, President Wilson made a strong protest to the German Government in connection with the sinking of the passenger steamer *Sussex* and at the same time warned that government, if relentless and indiscriminate submarine warfare were persisted in, the United States would have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations. The German reply was to give a "solemn assurance," and relations between the two nations remained harmonious.

On January 31, 1917, the German Government issued a notice to the neutral nations to the effect that, beginning next day, merchant ships bound to and from ports of the Allied countries would be sunk without warning and that the then existing "danger zone" had been extended to embrace a much larger area.

On February 3 President Wilson addressed Congress in joint session. He announced that diplomatic relations with Germany had been broken off because the German Government had deliberately withdrawn the pledge it had given in response to the warning of April 18, 1916. The President said he refused to believe that the German Government intended "to do in fact what they have warned us they will feel at liberty to do. Only actual overt acts on their part can make me believe it now." The Senate adopted a resolution indorsing the President's action by 78 votes against 5.

In many quarters the idea was prevalent that war was unlikely, and that the United States would merely pursue a policy of "armed neutrality." Nevertheless, preparations were rushed to place the nation on a war footing. On February 12 the House of Representatives passed a Naval Appropriation Bill which until that time was the largest in the history of the United States, the amount being \$368,553,388, about \$55,000,000 in excess of the previous session's appropriation.

On February 26 President Wilson again appeared before Congress and asked for authority to arm merchant ships and to take other measures required for the protection of American citizens and property on the high seas, when attacked by submarines. No overt act had yet been committed, the President said, but American trade was suffering because shipowners were unwilling to risk sending their ships to sea. For that reason the policy of an armed neutrality was necessary.

The House of Representatives on March 1 passed a bill em-

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bodying the President's "armed neutrality" recommendations by 403 votes against 13, the minority including Meyer London. In the Senate, however, a group of eleven members, headed by Robert M. La Follette, kept up a filibuster to prevent a vote before noon, March 4, when the 64th Congress automatically came to an end. The bill thus failed to pass. President Wilson was deeply indignant and in a message issued soon after the close of the session declared that "a little group of wilful men, representing no opinion but their own," has "rendered the great Government of the United States helpless and contemptible."

On March 9 President Wilson issued a proclamation calling the 65th Congress to meet in extra session on April 16. It was stated that the President was convinced that he had the power to arm American merchant ships and was free to exercise it at once, but so much necessary legislation was pressing for consideration that it was advisable to have an early session of the new Congress whose support would also be needed "in all matters collateral to the defense of our merchant marine."

On March 12 President Wilson announced that he would exercise his authority to arm American merchant ships by executive act, and guns manned by naval officers and crews were placed on all American vessels bound for the submarine war areas.

On March 19 three American merchant ships were reported sunk with the loss of fifteen sailors' lives; and this was apparently the "overt act" in which President Wilson found his justification for deciding to go to war.

On March 20 President Wilson conferred with the Secretary of the Navy and with his Cabinet. Orders were issued to push ahead more rapidly with preparations for war. The special session of Congress, originally called for April 16, was now summoned to meet two weeks earlier, on April 2.

On April 2 the 65th Congress met and in joint session was addressed by President Wilson, who recommended a declaration of war against Germany. He defined the issue as that of democracy against autocracy and said that the United States had "no selfish ends to serve," no desire for conquest or dominion, for indemnities or material compensations "for the sacrifices we shall freely make."

On April 4 the Senate adopted the war resolution by 82 votes against 6. The six Senators who opposed the war were La Follette, Gronna, Norris, Stone, Lane and Vardaman. Norris branded the war as capitalistic in its purpose, saying that it was "to preserve our commercial right to deliver munitions to the belligerents," and that "we are about to put the dollar sign on the American flag." La Follette's speech was a notable one and remains one of the interesting documents relating to America's entry into the war.

On April 6 the House of Representatives adopted the war

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resolution by 373 votes against 50. The minority included Meyer London, the only Socialist member of Congress, and Jeanette Rankin, the first and only woman elected to the national legislature. The same afternoon President Wilson signed the joint resolution, and by this act the United States and Germany were officially at war. The same day also the United States took its first hostile step by seizing all German ships in American ports. In the aggregate they represented 600,000 tons.

With the nation now at war many great changes began to take place. Vast additions to the army and navy were ordered, but as the nation was not enthusiastic for the war and recruiting on a voluntary basis was not likely to produce a large enough army, the Government decided to ask Congress to enact a conscription law. Congress complied, and on May 18, President Wilson signed a bill empowering him to raise an army by selective draft. All male residents who were 21 but not yet 31 years of age were called upon to register on June 5; and 9,600,000 young men did so. It was announced that an American Expeditionary Force would be sent to fight in France; and preparations were pushed on all sides aiming at the creation of an army on a scale as great as that of the European armies. By the end of October over one million men were under military jurisdiction, some already in France, others at various stages of training in the large number of camps and cantonments which had rapidly been created throughout the United States. Equally vigorous measures were taken to enlarge the navy, to create a great aviation corps, and to provide for all the various needs of modern warfare.

The industrial activities of the nation were also diverted to serve the purposes of war; and alongside and in addition to the normal political machinery which we know as the United States Government there came into existence an entirely new administration—a war administration under the direction of the nation's captains of industry. No more striking evidence of capitalist rule has ever been given than the way in which leaders of industry, trade, and finance openly took charge of the nation's "industrial mobilization." Nominally, they became servants of the United States, but in reality they went to Washington to control directly and in many cases personally the destinies of the nation which before the war they had been satisfied to keep under indirect control.

The Council of National Defense was the body which stood at the head of the new war administration. It consisted of the Secretaries of War, Navy, Interior, Commerce, and Agriculture and an Advisory Commission of seven members:

Howard E. Coffin, engineer, technical expert and automobile manufacturer; Daniel Willard, President of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad; Julius Rosenwald, head of Sears, Roebuck & Co., the greatest mail order business in the United States; Bernard

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Baruch, a Wall Street financier; Hollis Godfrey, engineer, scientist and head of the Drexel Institute; Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor; Franklin Martin, a leading surgeon representing the medical profession.

Under the Council of National Defense many sub-committees have been set up, and they, too, contain an overwhelming majority of business men. In his pamphlet, *The Great Madness*, Prof. Scott Nearing offers the following analysis of the personnel of some of the sub-committees:

Mr. Willard's sub-committee on "Express" consists of four vice-presidents, one from the American, one from the Wells-Fargo, one from the Southern and one from the Adams Express Company. His committee on "Locomotives" consists of the vice-president of the Baldwin Locomotive Works, a vice-president of the Porter Locomotive Company, the president of the American Locomotive Company, and the Chairman of the Lima Locomotive Corporation.

Mr. Rosenwald's committee on "Shoe and Leather Industries" consists of eight persons, all of them representing shoe or leather companies. His committee on "Woolen Manufactures" consists of eight representatives of the woolen industry, and his committee on "Supplies" consists of a retired business man, and one representative each from Sears, Roebuck & Company, the Quaker Oats Company and Libby, McNeil & Libby (meat packers).

The same business control appears in Mr. Baruch's committees. His committee on "Cement" consists of the presidents of four of the leading cement companies, the vice-president of a fifth cement company, and a representative of the Bureau of Standards of Washington. His committee on "Copper" has the names of the presidents of the Anaconda Copper Company, the Calumet & Hecla Mining Company, the United Verde Copper Company and the Utah Copper Company. Mr. Murray M. Guggenheim is a member of the same committee. His committee on "Steel and Steel Products" consists of Elbert H. Gary, chairman of the United States Steel Corporation, Charles M. Schwab, of the Bethlehem Steel Company, A. C. Dinkey, vice-president of the Midvale Steel Company, W. L. King, vice-president of Jones & Loughlin Steel Company, and J. A. Burden, president of the Burden Iron Company. The other four members of the committee represent the Republic Iron & Steel Company, the Lackawanna Steel Company, the American Iron & Steel Institute and the Picklands, Mather Company, of Cleveland. Perhaps the most astounding of all the committees is that on "Oil." The Chairman is the President of the Standard Oil Company, and the Secretary of the Committee gives his address as "26 Broadway," the address of the Standard Oil Company. The other nine members of the committee are oil men from various parts of the country.

In addition, representatives of Wall Street have gone to Washington to serve in various capacities. Thus, H. P. Davison, the right-hand man of J. P. Morgan, is head of the Red Cross Council; Frank Vanderlip, President of the National City Bank of New York, is helping the Treasury to float Liberty Loans; and other men connected with big business are similarly performing patriotic and gratuitous services at Washington. A complete "Who's Who" of the war administration would reveal the fact that there has been a singular disregard of men of ability who are not in some way or other connected with the financial and industrial interests which make and mold national policies.

It is too early yet to make a complete record of the numerous

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economic and industrial measures adopted by the Government for the prosecution of the war, but it is worth noting what is the burden of war debt already imposed upon this and future generations. On April 24 the President approved the liberty bond bill of seven million dollars; on May 12 the first special war appropriation bill was passed; on Sept. 24 the President approved the second bond bill of eleven billion dollars and a few days later the war emergency appropriation bill for eight billion dollars. The cost of the first year of war to the people of the United States is already estimated at over \$20,000,000,000 and it is proposed to meet only a small part of this out of revenue by imposing additional taxation.

AMERICAN LABOR IN THE WAR

Rejection of the demand of the organized labor movement that it be given full representation upon the effective committees and boards in the advisory organization surrounding the Council of National Defense, marked the first three months of American participation in the war. Up to the middle of the calendar year, only one of these effective committees—the Committee on Coal Production—had been forced to admit the spokesmen of the organized workers whose industrial conditions it assumed to control. Neither the shipbuilding nor the munition making nor the cantonnement construction nor any other branch of "war work" had been released from the exclusive direction of capitalist volunteers and government officials. Democratic representation of the workers in the setting of standards for their own industries appeared to be far from realization.

Samuel Gompers wrote to the Council of National Defense, of which he is a member, on June 27, calling the attention of the Council to the demand of organized labor for direct representation "co-equal with all other interests" upon all agencies entrusted with war work. "These boards and committees," wrote Mr. Gompers, "are now composed almost entirely of business men—able, prominent, men of large affairs who control the placing of contracts and the expenditure of millions of the nation's money. As a matter of precaution to prevent any charge of discrimination or suspicion of scandal, representatives of all citizens contributing to the national funds expended ought to be on the boards or committees. War contracts must not be allowed to be an opportunity for private gains and the accumulation of war profits. As a matter of justice and democratic principle representatives of employees as well as employers ought to determine national economic policies."

Had Secretaries Wilson, Baker and Daniels, members of the Council of National Defense and reputed friends of labor, insisted upon a democratic representation of the wage workers in

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the effective committees—the committees handling the war contracts and thus exercising control over labor standards—there would have been inaugurated from the beginning of the war a new era in American industry. The only committee which was compelled to recognize the new force, and to consult on democratic terms with labor officials, was the one which dealt with the biggest single body in the American Federation of Labor, the United Mine Workers of America. Its agreement to add seven labor men to the thirteen employers and government officials originally comprising it was reached only after President White of the United Mine Workers had denounced the first official act of the chairman, Francis S. Peabody. This act was Peabody's circular, advising that coal miners should be discouraged from moving from district to district during the war, since such migration tended to disturb industrial conditions. White described this as an attempt to shackle the miners to their present jobs.

Announcement of the victory of the United Mine Workers in getting representation on the Coal Production Committee was made on June 15, after a conference in the office of the Secretary of Labor at Washington. On the evening of that day there was held in Washington another conference, which sought to secure the agreement of the Council of National Defense and the several departments of the American Federation of Labor, upon some plan of labor representation or of direct negotiation between national labor bodies and the Council, to cover all war work. The Metal Trades Department asked for the creation of arbitration boards in the shops and nationally, to dispose of industrial disputes as they should arise. The Building Trades Department asked for a similar arrangement—three of the big contractors and three officers of the Department, with a chairman chosen by the Government, to constitute the national board. The Mining Department adhered to the plan of direct representation in the Defense Council committees as an essential part of any general scheme.

Nothing came of this conference, and strikes in the munition shops, the machine shops, supply plants of all kinds, and in shipyards, resulted from the usual grievances.

Behind this attempt at a general understanding which should assure an industrial truce, at least, during the war period, was the plan of the administration element in the American Federation of Labor for the creation of a national board, representing the workers, the employers and the so-called public, to agree upon labor standards and to assist in getting them enforced. Two or three each, of the workers and employers, with a chairman as nearly neutral as might be found, were to have been chosen for this task. They were to have studied conditions in each industry affected by the war, and were to have advised as to their

LABOR AND WAR

findings as to what wage should be paid, what hours worked, what minimum safeguards installed, and what terms of local contract sanctioned, whenever disputes arose. Under this board was to have been formed a complete structure of shop committees, committees representing the industry, and committees representing allied industrial groups. These would have used the machinery of the local and international unions, to the end that organized labor would have been built into the governmental structure for at least the war period.

The advantage of this plan was that it proposed to force some degree of decent labor standards upon every industry involved in the nation's preparation for war—the steel industry along with the rest. It doomed the twelve-hour day in the steel mills, and offered assurance that the horrors of overwork experienced by the British industrial population in their first year of war would not be duplicated here. But nothing came of this attempt.

How much the current agitation over the reduction of the cost of food, through creation of the Food Administration, may have sapped the strength of labor's protest at being thus brushed aside, cannot well be estimated. Early in the struggle for adoption of the Lever bill the "Labor Group" in the House, led by Keating of Colorado and Nolan of California, held a conference with Herbert Hoover and informed him that they would seek to get the united support of the organized workers for his program, as a matter of the immediate safeguarding of the workers themselves. They declared frankly that they saw no prospect of an early increase in wages to meet the increased cost of food and clothing; hence they wanted the price of necessities reduced by governmental authority. For the time being, the labor movement very largely shifted its interest from direct industrial betterment to national legislative measures for regulating capitalist profiteering.

Special mention should be given the Committee on Labor, organized by Samuel Gompers as one of the seven members of the Advisory Commission of the Council of National Defense. This committee was announced at the outset as representing "recognition of labor" in the Council organization. Subsequent events showed that it had no effective powers, and that the trade union element in it, except for Mr. Gompers, was virtually inactive. The official list of organizations under the Council of National Defense shows that the Committee on Labor consists of Messrs. Samuel Gompers, Secretary Wilson, Frank Morrison, James O'Connell, James Lord, Warren S. Stone and Jas. W. Sullivan, from the labor side, and V. Everit Macy, president; Ralph M. Easley, secretary; and Miss Gertrude Beeks, assistant to the secretary of the National Civic Federation; also Elisha Lee, General Manager of the Pennsylvania Railroad Co.; Lee K. Frankel, sixth vice-president of the Metropolitan Life Insurance

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Co.; C. E. Michael of the National Association of Manufacturers; and Louis B. Schram, chairman of the labor committee of the United States Brewers' Association. Among the members of this important body charged with the maintenance of labor standards and appointed by Chairman Gompers are found August Belmont, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Cornelius Vanderbilt, Daniel Guggenheim and George Pope, President of the National Association of Manufacturers.

Two steps have thus far been taken. Mr. Macy's sub-committee on mediation and conciliation has sought to form local mediation boards in a score of the chief industrial centers, to meet any strike or threatened strike with an offer of its services pending the arrival of federal mediators. The executive committee of the general committee has ratified a suggestion from the Council that Judge Julian W. Mack be authorized to draft legislation to cover the obligation of the Government to the soldier and sailor and their families, through provisions for compensation to the injured, separation allowances to the dependents, and pensions, in case of death of the soldier or sailor, to the widow and orphans. This work is, of course, wholly outside the field of industrial relations, and tends only to emphasize the unauthorized status of the Committee on Labor.

Knit into the situation which has thus left labor without a real voice in the management of the industrial structure of the war is the element of labor intervention in international diplomacy. Thus, on April 2, early in the period of the Milyukov provisional government in Russia, Mr. Gompers cabled to the head of the Petrograd Council of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, an appeal for moderation of policy as a means of safeguarding the future of Russia. This cablegram was made public in Petrograd by Ambassador Francis, who expressed his approval of its tendency. Later, when the nomination of Elihu Root as head of the American mission to Russia had led to protests from the Socialists in that country, Mr. Gompers again aided the State Department by cabling to Petrograd an assurance that no mission sent by the United States would seek to interfere in any way with Russian domestic or international policy.

Meanwhile the Socialists of the United States were seeking to send delegates to the International Conference to be held at Stockholm, to discuss possible terms of settlement of the war to be favored by them. A call was issued by Secretary Oudegeest of the Federation of Labor of Holland for a conference of national federations of labor at Stockholm during the same time. Mr. Gompers replied on May 24, stating that the American movement had not been previously consulted; that there was no time in which to select delegates, and that he could "not see how any good could come from our participation in such a conference at this time."

LABOR AND WAR

On June 27 the executive council of the A. F. of L. approved a cablegram sent that day by Mr. Gompers, in response to an invitation from labor officials of the central and neutral countries of Europe and from the Finnish labor officials, as follows:

"Linqvist, President Conference, Stockholm.

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in session after due deliberation upon invitation received from you and from Oudegeest of Amsterdam, Holland, to send delegates to a conference proposed to be held at Stockholm, September seventeen, decided that we regard all such conferences as premature and untimely and can lead to no good purpose. We apprehend that a conference such as is contemplated would rather place obstacles in the way to democratize the institutions of the world and hazard the liberties and opportunity for freedom of all peoples. Therefore, the American Federation of Labor with its two million five hundred thousand members cannot accept invitation to participate in such a conference.

If an international trade union conference is to be held, it should be at a more opportune time than the present or the immediate future, and in any event the proposals of the American Federation of Labor for international conference should receive further and more sympathetic consideration. Shall be glad to continue correspondence.

GOMPERS."

Thus the American Federation of Labor follows a policy of active support of the State Department during the war. It is made sponsor for the framing of legislation for food control and for soldiers' pensions and separation allowance. But except for the coal miners it is without a voice in disposing of the interests of labor itself in the vast industrial reorganization which war has brought about.

LAURENCE TODD.

LABOR LAWS IN WAR TIME

Even before the declaration of a state of war on April 6 there were evidences that the disturbed situation would be taken advantage of in many quarters to break down the labor laws which had been secured only through years and sometimes decades of uphill work. The employer who bluntly reduced his men's pay and informed them that if they struck they would be traitors found his counterpart in many an influential citizen who under cover of a war emergency sought to tear down the legal safeguards that had been built up against overwork, insanitary conditions and child labor. Public officials and even some trade union representatives were carried off their feet by the panic for redoubled production.

From the beginning this tendency was opposed by Socialist members in the state legislatures and by progressive trade unionists. Their efforts were ably seconded by prominent civic organizations, which, backed up by European experience, pointed out that reduction or abolition of labor safeguards during war is not only unjust but is actually detrimental to production. Followed several weeks of energetic publicity in the Socialist

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and labor press, circularizing, interviewing, protest meetings and public hearings, and gradually sanity returned. Bad bills were defeated or vetoed, administrative officers were committed to a policy of conserving beneficial standards, and, with the timely adjournment of the legislatures, the immediate danger was past.

Of the ruck of retrogressive measures proposed, only half a dozen, such as those adopted in Vermont, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Massachusetts authorizing the suspension of labor laws, and a New Hampshire law prohibiting strikes, have succeeded in getting on the statute books. In the present temper of the public mind there is little likelihood that unfair advantage will be taken of them. Following is a chronology of the more important incidents in the campaign for the maintenance of labor laws in war time:

MARCH

March 4.—United States enacted statute authorizing President in case of national emergency to suspend the eight-hour law on government contracts, provided time and one-half be paid for overtime.

March 5.—Assemblyman Johnson introduced in New York Legislature a bill providing that the law limiting labor of women and children to a nine hours day and to fifty-four hours or six days a week should not apply to any person sixteen years old or over "engaged in the manufacture of supplies of any sort for the military and naval forces of the United States or any state." The bill was strongly supported by the canners' and the manufacturers' associations.

March 13.—New York Consumers' League entered protest against Johnson bill and demanded a hearing. The bill was subsequently withdrawn.

March 22.—President Wilson, in accordance with provisions of act of March 4, suspended federal eight-hour law in navy yards and private shipbuilding establishments where such suspension would hasten preparation to meet emergency.

March 23.—New York Industrial Commission exempted Curtiss Aeroplane and Motor Corporation from the one day rest in seven law and permitted it to "work such men as are exclusively engaged in the manufacture of aeroplanes and aeroplane motors seven days a week, and as many hours as the employees wish, for a period of six months."

March 23.—Executive committee of the American Association for Labor Legislation issued a statement calling attention to the experience of other countries, where suspension early in the war of protective labor regulations resulted in unmistakable loss of health, output, and national effectiveness, and urged the maintenance of advanced standards of safety, sanitation, hours, wages, child labor, woman's work, social insurance, labor market, and administration of labor laws.

March 28.—President Holland of the New York State Federation of Labor issued a letter to trade unionists declaring that: "It will in all probability, therefore, be necessary to suspend temporarily those provisions of the labor law which affect and restrict the employment of men and women during the pendency of this emergency condition," provided that hours of women be "increased only under dire necessity."

March.—New York Association of Employing Printers urged state legislature to suspend or repeal limitations on hours of labor for women.

March.—Governor of Illinois directed state school authorities to excuse boys over fourteen years of age from their studies to permit them to work on farms.

APRIL

April 7.—Council of National Defense approved resolution drawn up by advisory committee on labor, of its advisory commission, urging upon the

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"legislatures of the states, as well as all administrative agencies charged with the enforcement of labor and health laws, the great duty of rigorously maintaining the existing safeguards as to the health and the welfare of the workers"; but also urging upon the legislatures that "before final adjournment they delegate to the governors of their respective states the power to suspend or modify restrictions contained in their labor laws" when requested by the council.

April 9.—Assemblyman Johnson of New York, having withdrawn the bill already mentioned, after serious protests against it, introduced two new measures. One, backed by the state industrial commission, would have given the commission power to suspend laws relating to hours of labor, employment of women and children, one day of rest in seven, or prohibited employments, as to persons making war supplies of any sort. The alternative bill would give commission power to suspend labor laws, but imposed restrictions.

April 11.—Federal Children's Bureau called attention to foreign experience with dangers confronting children in war time and appealed for full protection.

April 12.—Conference held between New York Industrial Commission and Consumers' League, State Federation of Labor, and other organizations, at which objections were raised to wide scope of second Johnson bill. The following day Commissioner Lynch went to Albany to arrange with Speaker Sweet for pushing the measure through with only a few verbal changes.

April 12.—National Child Labor Committee issued bulletin urging maintenance of standards.

April 12.—Vermont enacted law allowing commissioner of labor, with approval of governor, to suspend laws limiting women's and children's hours while the nation is at war.

April 12.—New Hampshire law went into effect prohibiting during the war strikes or lockouts in factories or munition plants producing goods for the federal or state military or naval service.

April 14.—Iowa senate passed a joint resolution authorizing governor in case of serious labor shortage to suspend child labor law; the resolution was defeated in house.

April 16.—Secretary of the Navy Daniels, in response to an inquiry by the Association for Labor Legislation, publicly announced that protective standards for labor should be maintained to meet the strain of war. Referring to the scattering indications of a tendency to lower protective standards for men, women and children, in the supposed interest of increased production, Secretary Daniels declared: "Testimony from Europe indicates that such a policy in war as well as in peace is mistaken and defeats the very purpose sought. It is of great national concern that at the outset of the war this country shall maintain a scientific programme of legal protection for workers in the interest both of maximum production and human conservation. We must not permit overzeal to lead to the weakening of our protective standards and hence to the breaking down of the health and productiveness of labor."

April 16.—American Association for Labor Legislation issued first number of a special bulletin on "Labor Laws in War Time," containing summary of British experience and the Association's proposed minimum requirements.

April 19.—New Hampshire, at the instance of the Council of National Defense, enacted a law authorizing the governor, when requested by the Council, to suspend labor laws during the war.

April 20.—Senator Brown, Republican leader, introduced in the New York legislature three labor bills drawn by the senate special war committee, providing

(1) for the suspension by the industrial commission, after investigation, for the period of the war and two months thereafter, of any provision of the labor law;

(2) for relieving children aged twelve or more from school attendance between April 1 and November 1 during the war for agricultural work; and

(3) for suspension by the public service commission during the war of the railroad full crew law for the period of the war.

April 23.—Massachusetts Committee on Public Safety held a confer-

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ence with officials of Boston and vicinity to discuss means for releasing school children for agricultural work during remainder of school year.

April 23.—Secretary of Labor Wilson at a conference of cabinet officers and labor representatives explained the position of the Council of National Defense to be that "the standards that have been established by law, by mutual agreement, or by custom, should not be changed at this time."

April 24.—Council of National Defense issued supplementary statement that federal, state and municipal governments should continue to enforce the labor standards they have established "unless and until the Council of National Defense has determined that some modification or change of these standards is essential to the national safety."

April 24.—Speakers at the convention of the National Metal Trades' Association at Hotel Astor, New York, objected to the federal eight-hour law on government contracts. It was suggested that in bidding for contracts manufacturers offer government two prices, a higher one if the eight-hour day was to prevail, a lower one if the law were suspended.

April 24.—A bill introduced in Massachusetts legislature suspending during the war the law with regard to licensing stationary engineers. Engineers' union opposed as an effort to break down standard of qualifications, and the bill was defeated.

April 24.—Assemblyman Woodward, in accordance with resolution of Council of National Defense, introduced in the Pennsylvania legislature a bill empowering the governor upon request by the Council to suspend during the war "any restriction relating to labor contained in any law of this commonwealth." The bill was backed by the State Manufacturers' Association and was opposed by the State Federation of Labor; it was finally defeated.

April 27.—New York Central Federated Union adopted resolution against elimination of eight-hour law, one day rest in seven, child labor legislation, and other labor statutes.

April 27.—Brooklyn Central Labor Union endorsed resolution of its executive board condemning officers of state federation for stand favoring suspension of labor laws.

April 30.—National American Woman Suffrage Association approved standard of "equal pay for equal work, without discrimination as to sex," and urged support of protective measures.

April 30.—May issue of the "Monthly Review" of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics emphasized need of maintaining labor standards.

MAY

May 1.—Commissioner of Labor Bryant of New Jersey sent an open letter urging employers to observe rigidly all safeguards for labor and calling attention to "England's experience, which proves that care of the worker's physical needs is imperative, if an ultimate slowing down of production, increase of the labor turnover and of lost time are not to follow upon a brief record of overstimulated speeding."

May 2.—Seventeen local and national civic and labor organizations united in a meeting in New York City to protest against the Brown and Johnson bills to set aside New York's labor laws.

May 2.—Connecticut, at the instance of the Council of National Defense, enacted a law authorizing the governor, when requested by the council, to suspend labor laws during the war.

May 2.—Senator McKee introduced a bill in the Pennsylvania legislature to repeal the railroad full crew law during the war and for six months thereafter. The measure passed both houses, but was later vetoed by Governor Brumbaugh.

May 3.—Alaska passed a universal eight-hour law effective January 1, 1918, containing waiver clause permitting governor to suspend the law upon request of the Council of National Defense or the Secretary of the Interior, during war with a foreign power.

May 5.—Committee on women in industry of the Council of National Defense, headed by Mrs. J. Borden Harriman, adopted resolutions against relaxation of protective labor regulations, excessive entry of married

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women with young children into industry, and undercutting by women of existing wage standards.

May 5.—Wisconsin Federation of Labor issued statement against lowering of legislative protection for workers.

May 11.—Attorney General Langer of North Dakota issued letter to school officers stating that in his interpretation "every child kept at home by the farmers of the state to help them till the soil and plant crops is not illegally out of school."

May 12.—Pennsylvania Board of Education issued statement authorizing withdrawal of school children twelve years or older to work on farms.

May 13.—Denver Trades and Labor Assembly adopted resolution opposing move to set aside women's eight-hour law.

May 14.—New York Teachers' Union adopted resolution petitioning federal, state, and city authorities rigorously to maintain and defend existing labor laws and condemning state commissioner of education and state industrial commission for permitting relaxation.

May 15.—Oregon Industrial Welfare Commission denied employer's application to work women after 6 p. m.

May 15.—President Wilson, in conference at the White House with representatives of labor and capital and British labor delegates, said: "I have been very much alarmed at . . . the apparent inclination of the legislatures of one or two of our states to set aside even temporarily the laws which have safeguarded the standards of labor and of life. I think nothing would be more deplorable than that."

May 15.—James A. Emery, counsel for National Council of Industrial Defense, in an address before National Association of Manufacturers at the Waldorf Astoria, New York, declared the federal eight hour law a menace to the country in that it threatened the manufacture of munitions, and alleged that the President's power to suspend it had been curtailed.

May 15.—Directors of the National Association of Manufacturers adopted resolutions urging the Council of National Defense to recommend to Congress that the President be given "authority to suspend for the period of the war all restrictive legislation at both government and private plants . . . which seriously threatens to cripple the capacity of national industry to perform its indispensable functions for national defense."

May 18.—Senator Overman of North Carolina and other southern senators began conferences looking to the suspension during the war of the federal child labor law, effective September 1, 1917.

May 21.—Brief filed with Governor Whitman by American Association for Labor Legislation, National Child Labor Committee, and Consumers' League, presenting constitutional and economic arguments against Brown bill. Two days later these organizations, together with representatives of other civic and labor groups at a public hearing before Governor Whitman, strongly urged that the Brown bill be vetoed.

May 22.—National Federation of Cloth Weavers' convention at Lawrence, Mass., voted to demand more rigid enforcement of labor laws.

May 23.—Baltimore Federation of Labor instructed its president and legislative committee to fight any suspension of state labor laws by the legislature.

May 23.—Wisconsin senate (assembly concurring later) adopted the following resolution upholding labor laws: "Resolved by the Senate, the Assembly concurring, that it is the sense of this legislature that laws safeguarding the rights of laborers must not be set aside even temporarily because of the war, and that all of these laws so promotive of the general welfare should be as consistently, carefully and rigidly enforced in this state during the continuance of the war as during more normal periods."

May 24.—Bill making it a misdemeanor punishable by fine or imprisonment to retard the movement of any train in interstate commerce during the war favorably reported by interstate commerce committee of United States Senate.

May 26.—President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor defended child labor laws, and said there should be no tampering with labor's safeguards, except in "direst emergency."

May 26.—Massachusetts created by statute a war emergency industrial

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commission composed of two representatives of employees, two of employers, and the commissioner of labor as chairman, to act on requests for suspension of labor laws in war emergencies.

JUNE

June 3.—Governor Whitman of New York vetoed the Brown bill, saying: "If we are to attain the greatest measure of efficiency in our preparation and in our prosecution of war we must not permit our people who are engaged in industrial pursuits to become apprehensive that the standards erected for their protection will be set aside, and we must not permit our industrial population to have cause to feel that the war's burdens and sacrifices may rest most heavily upon the shoulders of those least able to bear them."

June 4.—President Wilson, replying to Governor Brumbaugh of Pennsylvania, said: "I think it would be most unfortunate for any of the states to relax laws by which safeguards have been thrown about labor. I feel that there is no necessity for such action and that it would lead to a slackening of the energy of the nation rather than to an increase of it, besides being very unfair to the laboring people themselves."

June 5.—Attorney-General Lewis of New York advised the state architect, in connection with the construction of a new armory at Cornell University, that "the state in this case is not authorized, under the existing statute, to suspend the eight-hour law."

June 14.—Secretary of War Baker, repudiating an urgent appeal of an officer in the quartermaster's department asking that certain army blanket manufacturers in Wisconsin be permitted to work their women beyond the statutory limit of ten hours daily, wrote to the Wisconsin Industrial Commission: "This letter (from the army officer referred to) was written without my knowledge, and I entirely favor your view of the unwisdom of breaking down the enforcement of regulations which have been enacted as to hours of labor in the various states. . . . Clearly wisdom and humanity alike counsel a maintenance of existing standards."

June 19.—Minnesota Public Safety Committee went formally on record against permitting any let-down of labor legislation.

June 23.—Deputy Labor Commissioner Morrissey of Colorado refused request of employers to work women longer than eight hours a day.

June 27.—New York Industrial Commission denied application of International Paper Company for exemption from one day of rest in seven law.

JULY

July 9.—Following hearings before a departmental committee appointed, after revelations by Representative Jeannette Rankin, to investigate charges of excessive war emergency overtime, Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo ordered operations in the Bureau of Engraving and Printing to be restored to the eight-hour basis for both men and women, six days a week. About 4,000 employes, most of them women, were affected.

July 9.—Secretary of Commerce Redfield in letter urged editor of *Safety Engineering*, New York, to make an earnest effort through that publication to see that "the safeguards for life and limb provided by laws" be "maintained in full force and vigor."

AUGUST

August 1.—Eastern Ohio glass workers formed committee to cooperate with manufacturers in urging governor to suspend during the war the law prohibiting the employment of children under sixteen, in so far as the statute affects glass factories.

August 10.—Ohio Valley Trades and Labor Assembly adopted resolution opposing repeal or modification of the child labor law during the war.

August 11.—Deputy Labor Commissioner Morrissey of Colorado denied petition of beet raisers to suspend during the war the section of the child labor law forbidding the employment of children under fourteen while schools are in session. Beet raisers then declared they would use their

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influence with local school boards to prevent the schools from opening during the beet season.

August 18.—Dr. Wilmer Krusen, Philadelphia director of health and charities, issued warning against relaxing women's and child labor laws in war times.

SEPTEMBER

September 6.—Massachusetts War Emergency Industrial Commission issued statement on its action on requests for suspension of the labor laws. Of thirty-nine requests, eleven were granted, fourteen were denied, four were withdrawn, three were defaulted, decision on six was postponed, and one was filed. In no case was any exemption from the child labor law granted.

SOLON DE LEON.

LABOR IN THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT

I have been asked to write a short account of the participation of the British Labor movement in the Government. It is only fair to say at the outset that my views upon this question are not those of the majority of the officials of the British Trades Union movement, but I think there can be little doubt that my views and feelings upon this subject are shared by the great majority of the rank and file of the trades unions and Socialist parties.

It is necessary to understand clearly what is the constitution of the political labor movement in Great Britain. The Labor Party is a federation of trade unions and Socialist organizations. Up to the outbreak of war it was supposed to be governed by a strict constitution which imposed uncompromising independence of other political parties upon all the organizations affiliated to it and upon the elected representatives of the party. So the constitution of the Labor Party still remains, but this constitution is now dishonored in the breach rather than honored in the observance.

When the first Coalition Government was formed, in May, 1915, three Labor members of the Party joined the Government. They did so by the authority of a small majority obtained in a joint meeting of the Labor Members of Parliament and the Executive of the National Labor Party. One of these three Labor Members was appointed to a position in the Cabinet, namely, President of the Board of Education, and one other received an Under Secretaryship in the Home Department, and the third became a Government Whip. At the Annual Conference of the Labor Party held in the January following, the action of the Labor Members in joining the Coalition Government was approved by a large majority.

When, in December, 1916, the long intrigues aimed at the overthrow of Mr. Asquith were brought to a successful issue, the question of the continued participation of Labor in the Government was raised. Again by a small majority the Parliamentary Labor Party and the National Executive decided that the inter-

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ests of labor would be best served by the acceptance of the offer of Mr. Lloyd George of posts in the Government he was about to form. At the annual conference of the Labor Party held at the end of January, this year, this action was approved.

So much for the history of the participation of the Labor movement in the British Government. Now something about the results. There are in the present Government seven Labor Members. The old form of Cabinet Government has been abolished. There is an Inner Council of five persons, and all the other Ministers appear to be independent and isolated individuals. One Labor Member sits on the Inner Council of five, one is Minister of Pensions, one is Minister of the newly created Department of Labor, one is Under Secretary for the Home Office, one is Under Secretary to the Board of Trade, another is assisting Mr. Neville Chamberlain, the Director of National Service, and another is a Government Whip. Three of these persons only may be considered as having any direct authority to influence Government policy or Departmental action. It is not a prejudiced, but a fair statement to make, that the participation of Labor in the British Government during the last two years has been productive of no good results from the labor point of view. The Labor Members have been in the Government as hostages for the meek submission of Labor to whatever oppressive and reactionary legislation the Government might impose.

A brief summary of the legislation which has been enacted since Labor joined the Government will be conclusive proof of that statement. Immediately after the first Coalition Government was formed the preparations were begun for compulsory industrial and military service. Almost immediately, the Munitions Act was introduced. This measure takes away the right to strike, and workmen who have done so in defiance of the act have been ordered back to work by the Minister of Labor under threat of being sent to penal servitude if they resisted. This act ties the workman to his employer, and he is liable to severe penalties if he leaves his employment without the consent of a court. Twice this measure has been amended, on each occasion in the direction of greater restrictions and more stringent regulations.

Then there came military conscription, heartily approved by the Labor Members of the Government. Under this act thousands of men have been arrested and consigned to prison. Its provisions and powers have been used wholesale to impose industrial compulsion. It is worth noting that the support of the Labor Members of Parliament to this measure was given in defiance of the express mandate of a great Labor Conference to strenuously oppose it. Eighteen months after Labor joined the Government a special conference of the Labor Party unreservedly condemned them for their incapacity in dealing with the

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vital questions of food prices. When the Labor President of the Board of Education resigned the office his action was hailed with satisfaction by all the Liberal press of the country, which was very outspoken in its observations about his failure in that important Department. There is only one of the Labor Ministers whose presence in the Government can be regarded by any stretch of imagination as conferring any benefit upon Labor, and that is Mr. George Barnes, the Minister for Pensions, whose sympathetic administration of that Department has conferred widespread benefits.

The simple fact of the matter is that Labor does not count in the Government. Mr. Arthur Henderson, the Labor Member of the War Cabinet,¹ has spent a good part of his time since he was appointed to that position going about the country addressing National Service meetings, and threatening industrial conscription. Labor's presence in the Government exercised no restraining influence on the reactionary policy of Mr. Lloyd George and his Tory colleagues. These Labor Ministers and the trades union Members of Parliament are piling up for themselves a mountain of future trouble. There is the gravest discontent among the rank and file of the labor movement, which is only restrained because of the serious position of the country. When the war is over the position of these Labor Members will be one which nobody will envy. They have disrupted the political labor movement probably beyond the possibility of repair. The Independent Labor Members of Parliament are in open opposition and sit on the opposite side of the House to the rest of the Party.

This statement of the participation of the Labor Party in the British Government is admittedly from one who never looked with favor upon Labor sacrificing its political independence and joining a Liberal-Tory Coalition, but the writer is confident that the future will amply justify this point of view.

PHILIP SNOWDEN, M.P.

ENGLISH WOMEN AND THE WAR

The structure of industry in England has been profoundly changed by the strain of the war. Unchronicled and unnoticed, a second industrial revolution has come upon us. Upon a country essentially conservative in its methods, there has suddenly fallen a furious demand for production and an enormous shortage of men. The demand was met by the subdivision of processes, the introduction of new machinery, and the employment of new classes of labor. The old bulwarks of rule and custom that labor had built up during the past century went down in the storm like a house of straw. The distinctions between skilled and unskilled work, between men's work and women's work,

¹ Since this was written Mr. Henderson resigned from the Cabinet.

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were swept away. Anyone who had a pair of hands might be set to any job.

Now it is perfectly obvious, that to the mind of the employer, such a change must necessarily also abolish the old wage distinctions. If less efficient substitutes had to be found, it was contrary to all his instincts to pay them the old wage; and if the employer, by the exercise of his ingenuity, was able to make the new labor produce nearly as well as the old, that was his merit, and the recompense should also be his.

It need hardly be added that this simple view of the case did not commend itself to labor. The history of wages during the war, is the history of the efforts of labor to maintain the old standards of life under circumstances of such unparalleled difficulty. Up to the present the position of women has been the key to the whole struggle; since the difficulties between the different classes of men will hardly develop fully until after the war.

This article, is, therefore, an attempt to lay before American readers how women stand in England.

The first great event in the history of labor during the war was the Munitions Act of 1915. That act applied to those engaged "on or in connection with munition work." Munition work has been statutorily defined as "the manufacture or repair of any article required for use in war," together with shipbuilding and certain constructional work; and though the exact meaning of this wide and vague definition has never been decided by the courts, it seems probable that the bulk of the workers (outside agriculture and mining) are subject to the act. The act did three things. First, strikes and lockouts were prohibited; secondly, all trade customs tending to restrict output were abolished; thirdly, the Minister had the right to deprive the worker of his power to sell his labor freely.

By the second of these enactments the rules restricting certain jobs to certain classes of workers vanished. The employer was free to put women, or unskilled men, or boys, on to any job that he pleased. The third needs some explanation. It was widely stated in the spring of 1915, and was probably true, that employers were "bidding against each other," and were "tempting each other's men away"; — the result being that the highly skilled and indispensable man, if left to himself, could have commanded any wage he pleased. So distressing a state of things obviously cried aloud for remedy. The remedy introduced was that the Minister had power to make orders applicable to any worker on munitions. Under these orders no worker leaving work could be employed for six weeks, unless he was in possession of a "leaving certificate." This provision was intended to meet the case of the worker in a position to drive a hard bargain—but it has applied to all classes of workers, and as we shall see later on, to women on starvation wages.

The way was now cleared for the increased employment of

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women; and in the summer of 1915 the substitution of women for men began in earnest.

It might be thought at first that the position of women would be much improved by the increased demand for their services. Two things, however, in addition to the restrictions explained above, worked against them. In the first place, the supply of women's labor never, as a whole, fell below the demand. The numbers of women in industry were, it is true, in pre-war times, small in proportion to the men. The last census (of 1911) shows about 7 million males, as compared to rather more than 2 million females. This was due solely to the familiar fact that the factory life of a woman is shorter than that of a man. The number of men and women employed between the ages of 20-25 were shown, by the same census, not to differ very greatly—1½ million of men and just over 1 million of women being employed at these ages. It is clear, therefore, that the number of women who had passed through the factory was very great, and that the number of potential women workers was—for all practical purposes,—unlimited. Even now, although probably more than a million new women have entered industry, there appears no sign of any shortage in women's labor.

In the second place, it must be remembered that both the employers of women, and the women themselves were accustomed to exceedingly low wages; and that both sides started on a level determined by their bad old traditions. It is really true that, with the exception of the cotton workers, no large mass of women workers were properly and adequately paid before the war. The average earnings for a full week of women over 18 in the cotton trade reached before the war the altogether exceptional level of \$4.32 a week; but in the rest of the textile trades the average earnings for a full week ranged from \$2.24 in hair to \$3.32 in worsted. The wages in other women's industries were generally speaking rather under the textile level.

Finally the majority of these women were unorganized. The million new workers were necessarily so; but even among the old workers, organization had proceeded slowly. The (English) Labor Year Book 1916 estimated that in 1913 only 356,963 women were organized and of those 257,281 belonged to the cotton trades.

Such then was the position in the summer of 1915, when the increasing demand for women's work began first to be felt; and such were the difficulties against which organized labor had to struggle. Briefly summarized, the policy of the unions has been to take the greatest advantage possible both of compulsory arbitration, and of the powers conferred on the State of fixing wages for workers employed on munitions. Compulsory arbitration, and compulsory wages are but poor substitutes for freedom; but, as industrial freedom had vanished with the framing of the Munitions Act, the one possible policy was to take advantage of the substitutes offered, and to translate the vague good wishes and promises of the Government into terms of cash.

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The first unions to take action were the Amalgamated Society of Engineers and the National Federation of Women Workers acting in close alliance. The position of the engineers was at that moment exceedingly peculiar. Women replacing men, on shells, frequently worked at \$3.60 a week and in some cases for considerably less rates. The first result of their activities was the issue by the Ministry of Munitions of an order regulating the wages of women in men's trades. It appeared first in the form of "recommendations" to employers, was made statutory in February, 1916, and has been since twice amended. In its present form the minimum fixed is \$5.82 for 48 hours or less; women working under any system of payment by results receive the men's piece rates, or the men's premium bonus rates; while women engaged on the work of a fully skilled tradesman receive, after a period of probation, the skilled rates. There are also clauses by which the time rates for semi-skilled or specially laborious or responsible work are left open to arbitration.

The passing of this order may not appear to be a very brilliant achievement, still, if the rates paid under it are contrasted with those in other cases of substitution, it will be seen that something has been effected.

This order has, even now, only been applied to the various branches of the metal industry. The substitution of women for men has proceeded at a great rate in the woodworking trades, chemical works, oil works, and many other industries, without any protection for the men's rates, except such as the unions have been able to secure for themselves.

One instance which came under the writer's personal observation may be given. A London firm was engaged in making ammunition boxes—a job claimed by the Carpenters and Joiners' and other woodwork unions as men's work. The wages paid, as lately as October, 1916, were in some cases as low as 6 cents an hour. It is to be feared that this case is by no means exceptional in the woodworking trades; and so frightful an instance shows something of the peril in which the men's standard of life was placed by the legislation of 1915.

By February, 1916, therefore, a great part of the women on men's work had obtained some measure of protection. Much of the fuse, cartridge and powder work had, however, always been done by women. These were, fortunately, organized to a considerable extent. By means of arbitration a day rate of 9 cents an hour, with 1 cent extra for danger money, was received in the Spring of 1916, from the major firms engaged in this class of work. Again these rates are not in themselves much to boast of. They did, however, in many cases, mean an increase of 50 and 60 per cent on pre-war rates. The Government then took action and issued a general order, sweeping up the unorganized firms, and imposing generally for fuse, cartridge and powder work rates similar to those above quoted.

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Still, however, there remained great classes of women engaged on "articles required for use in war." The simpler processes of electric engineering, light metal goods of all kinds, light chemicals, core-making, rubber, ropes and a multitude of other processes were, by the custom of the country, women's jobs. Wages in some of these were incredibly low. In one case wages of 4 to 5½ cents an hour were paid for women on cable work for the Government; in the pottery trade \$2.40 a week was the recognized rate for women in the dipping room; while equally bad wages could be quoted both for the foundries, for hemp, and for light metal goods.

The struggle over the fuse makers was repeated. Organizations spread, particularly among the metal and electric engineering, and a very large number of cases were brought up for arbitration.

Finally, a second sweeping order was issued in January, 1917, extending the statutory day wage of 9 cents an hour to practically the whole of women's work in the metal trades, and to various miscellaneous trades, such as rubber, hemp and chemicals. This rate was raised on April 9 to 11 cents an hour. For the piece workers a basis rate of 9½¢ per hour has been fixed—piece prices to yield at least time and a third. These rates apply to women on munitions (who work under regulations restricting the mobility of labor) in almost the whole of the metal trades, in rubber, hemp and chemicals. As the trade in munitions is very great, and as the order requiring leaving certificates has been very extensively applied, a very large number of women are included. There are, however, exceptions. Nothing has been done for the woodworkers, except those on aeroplane work, nor for the bolt, screw and rivet trade, nor for those engaged in various other miscellaneous goods; while in Ireland, where wages are exceptionally low, no regulations of any kind have been imposed. Even with these exceptions, however, it is true to say, that a very great improvement has been made in the wages of women. American workers will no doubt not be greatly impressed by the figures quoted; but bearing in mind the low level from which the women started, and the reasons tending to weaken their position, the result attained is creditable to the organizations concerned.

The question of absorbing interest is, what will happen after the war? All the wage regulations described above will then terminate. There will undoubtedly be a period of trade dislocation, if not of trade depression. It can hardly be doubted, if matters are left to themselves, that the sweated trades will avert to their old position.

There is no difficulty as to the right course to pursue for the women who are engaged in what has been recognized as women's work and who are not in a position to maintain their rates unaided. For them the clear and only course is to establish statutory minimum wages, by an extension of the English Trade

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Board system, with some modification on the lines of the Australian Wages Boards. There is every hope that this may be done.

For the women engaged on men's work the future is not so clear. Definite and solemn pledges have been given as to the restoration of trade union customs. The introduction of labor saving machinery, and the far-reaching changes which have taken place in industry will undoubtedly produce a very strong opposition to the literal carrying out of these pledges. A great deal has been written lately to the effect that the unions would do wisely to strike a bargain with the employers and agree to substitution within defined limits and under approved wage conditions. No union has, however, shown any signs of accepting this suggestion, and the official attitude of the main organizations concerned may be said to be in favor of absolute restoration. The strategical position of the men varies, however, greatly in strength from trade to trade; and while, in some occupations, the replacement of men is tolerably certain, in others, the future is very problematical. It is impossible to believe, for instance, that a union that was not able to prevent the replacement of its members during the war by sweated feminine labor, will be able to do anything effective in the way of restoration after the war. Some considerable industries are in this position; and the positions of the others vary from this lamentable state of things to those where, as has been said, restoration will take place with very little difficulty. The peril to the standard of life of unregulated cheap substitution is only too obvious.

Such then has been the effect upon labor of the war legislation in England. It is possible that the story may be of some use to the workers in America who are now facing similar problems.

A. SUSAN LAWRENCE.

National Federation of Women Workers, England.

WAR TIME COLLECTIVISM

Since the beginning of the European war, the sweep toward collective control of food, transportation, mining, shipping and other industries has been marked. The withdrawal of millions of workers from peace industries to serve in army, navy and the making of war material (40,000,000 in all); the necessity of feeding and clothing huge armies; the destruction wrought by submarine and machine guns; and the inability of nations to import normal supplies of goods from other countries are among the causes for this development.

It is too early to estimate the full significance of this tendency. Suffice it to say that such control is daily demonstrating that if nations wish efficiently to conserve their resources, eliminate wastes and abolish exploitation they must substitute national industrial effort for private competition. While much of this industry will undoubtedly revert to private control after the war,

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the necessity of paying off the war debts—unless these should be repudiated by the peoples of Europe—; of staving off bitter poverty and of surviving in the national economic struggle for existence is likely to give such collectivism an additional impetus. At present most of this collectivism is bureaucratic in its control and the ends for which it is used cannot, in a very large number of instances, be socially justified. With the further democratization of the governments following the war—and such democratization is inevitable,—it may be expected that the social usefulness of public ownership will grow apace.

This paper will briefly consider war-collectivism in England, Germany, Italy, France and the United States. It will confine its attention chiefly to the control of food, although dealing with some of the other industries placed under governmental control. The large field of governmental collectivism in the extension of the system of taxation, in certain health activities, etc., cannot be adequately dealt with in the space allotted to this article. On account of the difficulty of receiving full reports of activities abroad, the article lays no claim to exhaustiveness in any of the fields treated.

GREAT BRITAIN

Let us at first turn our attention toward the State Socialist drift in Great Britain.

Food Supply.—One of the first acts of Parliament, after the passage of the Defense of the Realm Consolidation Act, was the requisitioning of the sugar supply. In October, 1914, the government purchased no less than 900,000 tons of this commodity, sold it to refiners, and set a maximum price to consumers. Later a grain supplies committee was appointed to secure the necessary wheat for Great Britain. In 1915 it purchased from the Indian government large supplies of wheat; the following year bought quantities from the Australian Commonwealth, and in 1917, effected the purchase of the wheat supply of Canada. Since 1915, there has been an intimate cooperation between the English, French and Italian wheat commissions in the purchasing of that commodity. The government now deals directly with rice and corn.

Perhaps the most important step toward collectivism in the food supply was taken more than two years after the beginning of the war, in November and December, 1916, when the Board of Trade was given wide powers to requisition supplies, enter and cultivate land, regulate the manufacture, sale and use of articles, and prevent their waste and destruction. Shortly thereafter, Lord Devonport was elected food controller and received the various powers of the Board of Trade. In April, 1917, Parliament authorized him to obtain possession of any factory, workshop or premises engaged in the preparation of food. On April 30, he announced that the government would take over all flour mills except those of minor size using any wheat in the making

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of flour. In February, 1917, the Minister of Munitions was given entire control of all fats, oil and oilseed.

The selling of pastry has been recently prohibited; meatless days announced; the supply of food in restaurants restricted; the use of potatoes, sugar, wheat, rice and rye regulated; food prices on many commodities dictated; the development of vegetable gardening and of pig nurture encouraged, and the consumption of fish urged. Millions of additional acres have been brought under cultivation as a result of the recommendations of governmental committees. The output of beer, by an order of March 29th, of this year, was limited to 10,000,000 barrels as against 26,000,000 of last year. Strict regulations have likewise been passed against the hoarding of food. Several cities have established communal kitchens.

Wide powers have also been granted to the food controller to fix maximum and minimum prices.

Coal Mines.—Government control has been stimulated by the war also in the realm of natural resources. Since August, 1914, the cost of coal, the profits made by coal barons and the wages received by miners have led to very considerable friction. In 1916, the Minister of Munitions intervened in the controversy between miners and operators and secured a 15% increase. Later the miners demanded a further advance. The Board of Trade endeavored to investigate conditions in order to obtain a settlement. The operators objected to such investigation of their affairs. A deadlock followed, and, as no settlement seemed in prospect, on December 1, 1916, the government assumed control of all the coal mines in South Wales and Monmouthshire. A committee, consisting of representatives of the Board of Trade, the Home Office and the Admiralty was appointed to administer the mines, the operators being ordered to run them under usual conditions until further orders. In February, 1917, the government decided to take charge of all coal mines in the United Kingdom during the period of the war, and a new department was organized for their operation.

Miscellaneous Collectivism.—England has as well appropriated, \$500,000 for the establishment of a dye research laboratory; has established a new department for the encouragement of scientific and industrial research; has appropriated \$20,000,000 for the construction of houses for the working class; has gone extensively into state insurance, assuming all risks at a flat rate of insurance; has requisitioned much of its merchant marine and has placed a governmental commission in charge of the railroads.

GERMANY

In no country has the governmental control of food been so thorough as in Germany. One of the first acts of the Empire was the selection of a commission of scientists, the Eltzbacher Commission, to inquire into the best methods of conserving food. The control of this necessity was first vested in the imperial de-

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partment of the interior, of which von Delbrück was secretary. Perhaps the most drastic order in the first year of the war was that requiring the slaughtering of about a million and a half of milk cows and swine on account of the alleged lack of animal food. All grains were declared subject to confiscation and bread rations were established. In the second year, two meatless days each week were decreed. Governmental control was established over sugar.

Then came the resignation of the secretary, who had been accused of regulating the use and sale of food products without knowing the available quantities; the establishment of a war nutrition office, under the control of the chancellor, and the appointment of Adolph von Batocki as controller. Power was given this office to confiscate the products of soil, plant and animal; to eliminate the middleman; to regulate consumption; to direct the planting of crops and their use and to conserve the food supply in numerous other ways.

Between thirty and forty operating companies were formed under the control of the food director, each to perform specified tasks. The companies possess a capital stock derived from the state, hold the right of monopoly, and are privileged to make contracts, to buy and sell, etc. Of late, cards have been issued apportioning the amount of bread, sugar, potatoes, eggs, milk, butter, meat, fat, etc., to which each person is entitled. Since the latter part of 1916, communal authorities have seized and apportioned between the locality and the imperial bureau all butter produced in the larger dairies. A similar procedure has been taken in connection with the meat supply. All live stock is now confiscated and its delivery to the market controlled.

No middleman is now permitted between wholesaler and consumer. All dealers in foodstuffs are required to secure licenses before they are allowed to do business, and no more wholesalers or retailers are licensed than seem necessary for the needs of the business. Increase of price by indirection is a penal offense. Food advertisements are closely restricted.

Many cities have taken an active part in the distribution of food. From the beginning of the war until the winter of 1916, Berlin distributed about \$40,000,000 of food to its poor. It and other cities have established many civic kitchens for the very poor, the lower middle class and the petty officials. These kitchens have a daily capacity of about 6,000,000. School children are supplied with lunches therein at from 4.8 to 7.1 cents.

From the interesting description of these kitchens by Oscar King Davis, the following appears:

The system of public kitchens is pretty much the same in all German cities. The food is boiled or stewed in huge kettles, varying in size from 200 to 300 and up to 600 liters in capacity. The Bread Commission has established something more than 200 registry offices, scattered all over the city, in each of which the people who live in its locality may register themselves as desir-

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ing to take meals at the public kitchen for their district. This merely means getting hot food from that source. It may be distributed from the kitchen at some distributing point, and from there taken home in a private receptacle. It may be eaten on the spot, or taken home directly from the central kitchen. The latter are generally located in public buildings, markets or halls. There are eleven kitchens in Berlin with sixty-two subsidiary stations. The kitchen usually supplies one meal a day. The food card system is operated, and each must present a food card before being served. School children of poor parents are fed free. For eight or ten cents the adult may obtain almost a quart of hot food. The meals are substantial, but very simple. But one dish is served and that is always stew. Food is also being prepared at scores of industrial and other plants. A very considerable proportion of the German civilian population is drawing its food today from such governmental institutions.

The separate kingdoms have also cooperated extensively with the Imperial office. Württemberg has recently reorganized its work so as to obtain the cooperation of large bodies of citizens, in the collection and distribution of all available foodstuffs. In every community of agricultural importance, a special war committee has been formed with the pastor, schoolmaster or some responsible woman at its head, to help in collecting all foodstuffs in excess of the needs of the producers. Other organizations are asked to assist. There are also district committees and a central committee at Stuttgart, the latter of which consists of representatives of the government, of the communities, agriculture, the state church and the educational authorities. This attends to the general organization of the food supply and carries on educational propaganda.

In 1915, Germany also established a monopoly of all nitrogenous material for a period of seven years. "This is probably the first instance in history of a government using the atmosphere as a source of money."

ITALY

Italy began to consider the food situation long before it entered the war. It first directed attention to embargoes on exports. Since its entrance, it has done much to encourage agricultural production. Its cities have shown marked activity in grappling with the food question. In December, 1914, the government authorized in each community the establishment of associations, of which the municipality was a prominent member, to purchase and sell grain without a profit. To increase production, in June, 1915, it required agriculturists, for a reasonable compensation, to lend their labor force and machinery to neighboring farmers. Maximum prices were later fixed on many necessities. In August, 1916, the Minister of the Interior was given the powers of a food controller. Early in this year a food commission was

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formally established, consisting of the ministers of agriculture, of the interior and of maritime and railroad transportation.

Rome has established no less than 160 municipal bakeries for the selling of bread; 14 meat markets and many stores for the distribution of potatoes, macaroni, spaghetti, noodles, rice and beans. It has sold at low prices as many as 80,000 eggs a day, and is daily importing, pasteurizing and selling over 12,000 quarts of milk. This activity has helped materially in keeping prices down, the average prices for commodities since the commencement of the war having advanced in Rome but 18%, which is smaller than that in any other city in Italy. Milan has sold large quantities of meat, fish, flour and bread. From the beginning of the war to May, 1916, it has saved, to the population, from the reduced price of bread, some \$374,000. The municipalities and the cooperative stores here work hand in hand. Genoa has also entered extensively into the food business.

The government has also recently gone extensively into the shoe business.

FRANCE

The French Government has given much attention to the increase in the productivity of the soil. By government order, the small agricultural holdings have often been "pooled." The government loaned large amounts to farmers in the invaded portions of France to purchase farm equipment. Prefects have also been empowered to requisition wheat and flour when the government gives its sanction. In other respects, its activities have been chiefly regulatory. It has regulated the manufacture of bread, distributed bread cards, limited courses in restaurants, fixed maximum prices and prohibited the manufacture of confectioneries and pastry. It has depended to a considerable extent on the cooperative stores for the conservation of the food supply.

THE UNITED STATES

In this country, which entered the war later than any of the other large belligerents, the passage of the Food Administration and Food Survey Bills; the extensive control over shipping and the coordination of railroad control and of the business of purchasing supplies for the government constitute, perhaps, the most important steps in the direction of collective control up to the second week in August, 1917.

The United States definitely entered the list of national food regulators on August 10, four months after the beginning of the war, when the President signed the Food Administration Act. The act, despite its defects, is undoubtedly the most comprehensive piece of collectivist legislation ever passed by Congress. It is roughly divided (1) into measures which prohibit private abuses and (2) those authorizing positive governmental control over food, fuel and other specified necessities. Unfortunately,

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the most drastic powers can be exerted only for purposes of the army and navy and the common defense.

The four sections granting to the President positive powers to place specified necessities under the control of the government—Sections 10, 11, 12 and 25—provide substantially as follows:

(1) That the President shall have power to requisition food, feeds, fuels and other supplies necessary to the support of the army and the maintenance of the navy, or any other public use connected with the common defense, and to requisition or provide in any other way proper storage facilities for these supplies. Provision is, of course, made for "just compensation."

(2) That the President shall be empowered to purchase, to store, to provide storage facilities for, and to sell for cash at reasonable prices, wheat, flour, meal, beans and potatoes.

(3) That the President shall have the power to requisition and take over for use and operation by the government, any factory, packing house, oil pipelines, mine or other plant, or any part thereof where necessities are produced, whenever he finds it necessary to secure an adequate supply for the army, navy, or any public use connected with the common defense. He may also make any regulations necessary for the operation of any such establishment, the disposition of its products and the control of its working force.

(4) That the President is empowered to regulate the price of coal and coke, as well as its method of production, distribution, storage, etc. If any producer does not abide by regulations, or conducts his business inefficiently or in a manner prejudicial to the public interest, the President can then requisition and take over the plant for operation during the period of the war.

A further power which may have far reaching effect is that relating to the granting of licenses. According to Section 5, the President, if he deems it essential, may grant to certain persons or corporations engaged in the importation, storage, manufacture, mining or distribution of certain necessities, a license to continue in such business. He can also provide regulations for licenses and revoke privileges granted. The failure to obtain a license would prevent a dealer from conducting business in that particular commodity.

Wheat is the one article particularly designated by the act for price fixing. The President is empowered to give public notice as to what is the reasonably guaranteed price for wheat, should he deem that necessary for the purpose of stimulating wheat production.

The prohibitory measure in the act which drew forth the most vigorous discussion is that relating to spirituous liquors. This section (Sec. 15) provides that thirty days following the approval of the act, "no foods, fruits, food materials, or feeds, shall be used in the production of distilled spirits for beverage purposes." The importation of distilled spirits into the United

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States is also prohibited. As far as malt or vinous liquors are concerned, the President, if he deems it necessary in order to conserve the food supply, or if he is of the belief that the national security or defense is conserved thereby, may limit, regulate, or prohibit their production. He may also commandeer distilled liquors for military or hospital purposes.

The remaining measures in the act calculated to prevent abuses make it unlawful for persons wilfully to destroy any necessities for the purpose of enhancing prices or restricting the supply; to commit waste, wilfully and knowingly, or to permit preventable deterioration; to monopolize; to engage in any discriminatory and unfair, or any deceptive or wasteful practice, or to make any unreasonable rate of charge in handling necessities; "or to conspire, combine, agree, or arrange with any other person, (a) to limit the facilities for transporting, producing, harvesting, manufacturing, supplying, storing, or dealing in any necessities; (b) to restrict the supply of any necessities; (c) to restrict distribution of any necessities; (d) to prevent, limit, or lessen the manufacture or production of any necessities in order to enhance the price thereof; or (e) to exact excessive prices for any necessities."

The last named provisions have given rise to much vigorous criticism on the part of organized labor. It is alleged that every strike does some of the things prohibited in this section, and that the application of this section to labor disputes would virtually prevent strikes. As it passed the Senate originally, the bill carried with it the Hollis amendment, which provided specifically that nothing therein should be interpreted as repealing the right to strike sections in the Clayton Act. This amendment, however, was later dropped. Mr. Gompers takes issue with this charge and states that a bill is soon to be presented adequately dealing with this subject.

Strict provisions are likewise found in the bill prohibiting hoarding of necessities, and providing for seizure, condemnation and sale of hoarded necessities. The act also gives wide powers of regulation of speculation.

The remaining sections are chiefly administrative. A sum aggregating \$152,500,000 is appropriated for the purposes of the act. The President is empowered to accept the volunteer services of various applicants; "profiteering" through one's connection with the administration of the act is prohibited; annual reports to Congress are provided for; provision is made that unconstitutionality of any section will not affect any other section, while many penalties are imposed for interference with the regulations and with the administrators.

Very considerable controversy developed over the passage of the bill. The questions of prohibition of the concentration of power into the hands of the food controller, of the fixing of maximum prices, of the limitation of the bill chiefly to food and fuel, and of the exercise of certain of its provisions only when

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the needs of the army, navy and public defense necessitated it, furnished many of the subjects for acrimonious discussion.

On the same day that the Senate passed the Food Administration Act, it also voted in favor of the Food Survey Bill. As the title suggests, the bill provides for the investigation by the President of the supply, consumption, cost, prices and distribution of all food products, fuels, and agricultural implements, so as to devise means to secure a steady flow to the market.

In time of exigency, moreover, it authorizes the President to purchase foods, fertilizer, and agricultural implements and sell them to producers so as to stimulate production.

The control suggested in these two bills will last only until the end of the war. To what extent the President will exercise the power possessed by him under the bills is, of course, not known. It will probably depend, to a very considerable extent, on the length of the war, the pressure brought to bear by the country at large, the general condition of the crops and numerous other factors. Mr. Herbert C. Hoover has been designated by the President as food administrator. Prior to the passage of the measure, Mr. Hoover was exceedingly busy in urging the people voluntarily to increase food products and to limit consumption of certain articles. He gave wide publicity to the exorbitant prices resulting from food speculation. At a Senate hearing, June 20, 1917, he declared that, "In the last five months, on the item of flour alone, \$250,000,000 has been extracted from the American consumer in excess of normal profits of manufacturers and distributors."

Immediately following the passage of the act, Mr. Hoover declared that his first drive would be in the direction of the control of wheat and flour. He declared that the United States must this year export to the Allies some 225,000,000 bushels of wheat as against 80,000,000 exported abroad prior to the war, and suggested the reduction in the consumption of meat, fat and sugar to the extent of seven ounces per person each week.

On August 12, a commission was appointed with President Harry A. Garfield of Williams College as chairman, for the purpose of fixing a fair price for the 1917 wheat harvest. Mr. Hoover asserted that gambling in and hoarding of wheat must end even if the government has to purchase the entire wheat supply. As a preliminary step it is announced that the government will take charge of all grain elevators and all mills with a daily capacity of over 100 barrels of flour and place them under a system of licenses which will make hoarding impossible.

Formation of Wheat Corporation.—On August 15, 1917, a \$50,000,000 Wheat Corporation was formed, with all of the stock held by the Federal Government, to buy and sell wheat at the principal terminals. The Chairman of the corporation is Herbert C. Hoover, the President, Julius H. Barnes, a Duluth

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exporter. The main office has been established at 42 Broadway, New York City, and branch offices in Minneapolis, Duluth, St. Louis, Chicago, Buffalo, Detroit, Portland, San Francisco, Galveston, New Orleans, Kansas City and Philadelphia.

Dr. Harry A. Garfield has been designated the Chairman of the price-fixing committee, which is composed of twelve members. The Wheat Corporation will handle all Allied grain purchases, and will conduct the buying for the American government. If it is found advisable, the Corporation will as well act as broker for the milling interests, purchasing wheat for the flour mills to keep the market steady. All futures in wheat have been prohibited, and on August 25, "the Chicago wheat pit, once noted for its turbulence, became as quiet as a country churchyard." It is expected that the price of wheat at the farm, together with the amount of commission to be charged by the various groups employed in preparing the product for the consumer, will be determined within a few days.

Licensing Grain Handlers.—Another drastic step in the control of food products was taken on the same day that the Wheat Corporation was organized—August 15—when the President formally granted to the Food Administration authority to license grain elevators and milling concerns. The order read in part:—

"All persons, firms, corporations and associations engaged in the business of either storing or distributing wheat or rye, as owners, lessees, or operators of warehouses or elevators, and all persons, firms, corporations and associations engaged in the business of manufacturing any product, derived from wheat or rye, (except those operating mills and manufacturing plants of a daily capacity of 100 barrels or less, and farmers and cooperative associations of farmers,) are hereby required to secure on or before Sept. 1, 1917, a license, which license will be issued under such rules and regulations governing the conduct of the business as may be prescribed. Those failing to secure such a license, and continuing business will be liable to prescribed penalties."

International Buying.—The most forward looking step toward buying on an international scale was made on August 24 when the governments of the United States, Great Britain, France and Russia reached an agreement whereby all purchases in this country for these allied governments would be made by an American commission composed of Bernard M. Baruch, Robert S. Lovett, and Robert S. Brookings, the Purchasing Commission for the War Industries Board. Italy, it is understood, will assent to this agreement, as well as other governments. The dual position occupied by this committee of three will make it possible to co-ordinate the purchases of the United States Government with those of the Allies. Heretofore the various governments competed against each other. "In some cases it was found that agents of the allied countries had combed the Western markets

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for grain months in advance of any efforts of American buyers, and had large quantities of materials stored awaiting favorable conditions of shipment, while prices went upward in consequence of the steadily increasing scarcity of certain staples." The social implications of such international industrial cooperation may be most significant when peace has been restored.

General Price fixing.—It is also announced that the President, in cooperation with the Federal Trade Commission, is preparing a comprehensive program of price fixing which will affect the industries producing and manufacturing practically every war-time commodity listed under the term "essential." Those defined as "necessaries" in the Food Control Act include food, feeds, fuel, including fuel oil and natural gas; fertilizer and fertilizer ingredients, tools, utensils, implements, machinery, and equipment required for the actual production of foods, feeds, and fuel.

Regulations of Coal.—No less important than the steps taken to conserve the wheat supply were those for the control of coal. The first step in that direction was taken on August 20 when the President designated Robert S. Lovett as Federal Agent under the Priority Shipments Act, and directed forty-six railroads to give bituminous coal shipments from the mines for the Northwest via the Great Lakes precedence over other business.

On the following day, the President issued a sweeping order fixing the base price of bituminous coal in all of the big producing districts at approximately \$2 a ton, \$1 under the schedule agreed upon at a conference a few weeks earlier, between the coal operators and the Coal Production Committee of the Council of National Defense. The lowest price fixed for coal at the mouth of the mine was \$1.90 in the coal mines of Alabama and the highest, \$3.25 in Washington. On August 23, President Wilson named Dr. Harry A. Garfield Coal Administrator, fixed prices of anthracite coal at the mine—ranging from \$4 to \$5.30 a ton at the mine, according to grade—and named the conditions under which jobbers would be permitted to operate. In regard to these jobbers, the President stated that no more than 15c a ton can be added by the jobber or by any series of jobbers for the buying and selling of bituminous coal; 20c a ton (of 2,240 pounds) to jobber or jobbers handling anthracite coal when delivery is to be made at or east of Buffalo and 30c west of Buffalo. The maximum prices went into effect September 1.

Ships.—Another drastic collectivist action taken during the first week in August, 1917, was that adopted by the Emergency Fleet Corporation, which, on August 4, took over all steel shipping above 2,500 tons dead weight in course of construction in twenty-five of the great shipyards of the country. The number of ships affected is somewhat less than 700; the total tonnage, about 1,500,000 tons. The ships are owned chiefly in Great Britain and Norway. Contracts pending in private yards and

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on which construction has not actually been started will also come under federal supervision. The final ownership of the ships will be determined later. The Emergency Fleet Corporation, of which Rear Admiral W. L. Capps is general manager, following the resignation of General Goethals, is working in close cooperation with the United States Shipping Board. Immediately after the beginning of the war, the government took over 91 German ships, with a gross tonnage of 600,000 and an estimated value of \$148,000,000. Many of these vessels are being used as transports.

On August 24, the Shipping Board announced its estimate of over a billion dollars as the cost of carrying out its ship-building program which calls for the construction of 1,270 ships of 7,968,000 tons, this being in addition to the nearly 2,000,000 tons of shipping now in the course of construction at the American yards, commandeered by the Emergency Fleet Corporation. A large part of the proposed and the commandeered fleet, it is estimated, will have been completed by June 30, 1918. The total cost of building, commandeering and purchasing of vessels will approximate \$2,000,000,000.

Other Activities.—Another step in collectivism was taken by the government when the Senate, early in the war, appropriated \$10,000,000 for the government's purchase of nitrates, their transportation from Chili and their sale by Federal authorities at cost to farmers for fertilization purposes.

A significant lesson in regard to the savings that may be effected through cooperation is indicated by the results obtained by the Railroads' War Board, headed by Daniel Willard, President of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and organized by the railroads at the request of the National Council of Defense.

This board, since its formation, has endeavored to coordinate the operation of all of the railroads of the country, particularly for the purpose of utilizing all available freight cars, and of giving priority of shipment to commodities for which the need is keenest. This board issues orders to the various roads regarding their share of empty and full freight car traffic, and endeavors, in a certain degree, to operate the railroads as a single trans-continental railroad system. In their report of August 5, 1917, it was estimated that with practically no increase in equipment, the roads were doing 16.1% more work than under individual operation.

The War Industries Board (appointed July 28), a successor of the General Munitions, Supplies and Raw Material Boards of the Council of National Defense, and consisting of seven members of which Frank A. Scott, a munitions manufacturer of Cleveland, is chairman, has for its function the making of recommendations regarding purchases, prices, priorities and contracts for the various departments of the government dealing in war material. It aims also to serve as "a repository of industrial information for war purposes."

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This important board consists of Lieutenant-Colonel Palmer E. Pierce, representing the Army; Rear Admiral Frank F. Fletcher, representing the Navy; Hugh Frayne, of the American Federation of Labor; Mr. Scott, chairman; Bernard M. Baruch; Robert S. Brookings, a St. Louis merchant; and Judge Robert S. Lovett, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Union Pacific System. The last three named are members of the Central Purchasing Commission. An effort is being made to give them price-fixing power.

In the old boards the accusation had been made that several of the members had taken advantage of their position to recommend that the government purchase goods from their firms. On July 17, Senator Kenyon of Iowa, for instance, mentioned the name of John F. McElwain, a member of the shoe purchasing committee, in connection with a contract of nearly \$2,000,000, obtained by his firm, alleging that the price paid by the government was 15 cents a pair of shoes higher than that of the lowest bidder. Whether the new board will be accused of serving similar personal interests it is too early to judge.

Among the other committees of the Council of National Defense, organized as a volunteer body in March with representatives of the War and Navy Departments and six civilians, are: The Aircraft Production Board, the General Health Board, the National Research Council, the Committee on Labor, etc. Labor representation on these committees has been rare, contracts have been given out generally in absolute disregard of labor conditions, while, at least during the first three months of the war, many protests of labor from such organizations as the United Mine Workers, the Metal Trades Department of the A. F. of L. were given scant consideration.

The Navy Department has just constituted (August 10, 1917), an inter-departmental committee on the adjustment of wage scales of employees in government plants with Assistant Secretary of the Navy Franklin D. Roosevelt, chairman; Walter Lippmann, Assistant Secretary of War, and William Blackston, Conciliator of the Department of Labor, members, and the government seems to be taking labor conditions into consideration more than formerly.

CONCLUSION

The foregoing gives some idea of the steps thus far taken toward the national control of industry.

What should be the attitude of the believer in industrial democracy toward such war-collectivism? Should he advance or oppose it?

State ownership, though not thoroughly democratic, has certain advantages, especially in politically advanced countries. It proves the Socialist contention that a vast number of wastes may be eliminated, and that industry may be run without private profit and enormous salaries. It gives the producers an added

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incentive to democratize the political and industrial functions of their government, takes away from the state the corrupting pressure of huge private interests, tends to emphasize the industrial rather than the police activities of the government, and provides an incentive for further socialization. When the number of government bondholders is increased, and the number of private stockholders decreased, as a result of the transfer of property from private to public hands, the government finds itself in a strategic position to apply large graduated income and inheritance taxes without possibility of evasion.

Furthermore, if the socialization is of the proper kind, it indirectly proves a powerful weapon against war. For war will cease to be hailed by industrial and financial war lords just as soon as they learn that it is going to be used by the masses to take away special privilege by socializing industry.

On the other hand, if such collectivism is left to those without a social vision, efforts will probably be made (1) to induce the government to pay exorbitant prices for property transferred; (2) to raise the money for such purposes wholly through the issuance of bonds rather than through the imposition of graduated income, inheritance and land values taxes; (3) to conduct industry in total disregard of trade union rules and the rights of the workers; (4) to give control into the hands of those who have little interest in running public industry efficiently and democratically, and who are anxious that such industry be returned to private hands after the war crisis is over and at terms, perhaps, none too favorable to public interest. Should this kind of war collectivism be permanent, efforts would probably be made to make its prime purpose the raising of revenue rather than the improvement of the service, the decrease of prices and the bettering of the condition of the worker. The movement would probably be halting, illogical and narrow.

Should such a movement then be left to those possessing the "capitalist psychology," or should not the believer in industrial democracy endeavor to direct this collectivist wave? Personally, I believe that he should help in its development. In the cities, state and nation he should endeavor to see that it receives the ardent support of the Socialist and labor movement, so that its achievement may inspire these forces with the sense of victory and so that its direction may be altogether democratic. He should plan for the socialization of industry; for the raising of money through definite forms of taxation; and for an organization of industry that might combine democracy with efficiency. He should be a vigorous critic, and in every way help to make war-collectivism a foundation stone for an enduring cooperative commonwealth. A concerted demand for the public ownership of the railroads, telegraphs and telephones, coal mines, insurance, banking, armament, food and other industries should be begun without delay.

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Perhaps, after all, H. G. Wells was right in his faith when he utopianized:

"I believe that out of the ruins of the nineteenth century system of private capitalism that this war has smashed forever, there will arise, there does even now arise, in this strange scaffolding of national munitions factories and hastily nationalized public services, the framework of a new economic and social order based upon national ownership and national service." Who can tell?¹

HARRY W. LAIDLER, PH.D.

A. F. OF L. AND MILITARISM²

We are unalterably and emphatically opposed to "militarism," that system fostered and developed by tyrants with the object of supporting their arbitrary authority and utilized by those whose predatory designs or ambitions for power and worldly glory lead them to invade and subdue other nations, destroying their liberties, acquiring their wealth and fastening the yoke of bondage upon them.

The American trade union movement is convinced by the experience of mankind that "militarism," even in its less horrid manifestations, brutalizes those influenced by the spirit of the institution. Under the baleful thrall of the savage instincts which it arouses, the finer elements of humanity are strangled. Under "militarism" a pseudo-patriotism is established in the minds of the people wherein men believe that there is nobility and heroism in dying for the glory of a dynasty, or the maintenance of institutions which are inimical to human progress and democratic institutions. "Militarism" is the appeal of arbitrary and irresponsible force as opposed to reason and justice.

Resistance to injustice and tyranny is that virile quality which has given purpose and effect to ennobling causes in all countries and at all times. The institutions of our country and the freedom won by its founders would have been impossible had they been unwilling to die in defense of their liberties. Only a people willing to maintain their rights and defend their liberties are guaranteed free institutions. Conditions foreign to the institutions of our country have prevented the entire abolition of organized bodies of men trained to carry arms. A citizen soldiery supplies what would otherwise take its place, a large standing army—to which we are unalterably opposed as tending to establish "militarism" in all of its phases. Large standing armies threaten the existence of civil liberty. The history of every nation demonstrates that as standing armies are enlarged, the rule of democracy is lessened or extinguished. Our experience has been that even this citizen soldiery, the militia of our several states, has given cause for gravest apprehension. At times their ranks have been recruited from professional thugs, criminals and other employees of corporations involved in conflict with workmen, who are endeavoring to protect their rights and interests and elevate their standards of living.

During industrial disputes the militia has been called upon to support the

¹ The most recent book giving a survey of the wave toward State Socialism both before and after war is "State Socialism—Pro and Con," edited by William English Walling and Harry W. Laidler, with a chapter on Municipal Ownership by Evans Clark. This book of 650 pages gives many authoritative documents on public ownership throughout the world in scores of industries. The *Monthly Review* of the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics from March to August gives a very considerable amount of material on war collectivism.

² Resolution adopted at the Baltimore Convention of the American Federation of Labor, Nov., 1916.

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authority of those who have desired to enforce martial law, while the courts were open and civil authorities competent to maintain the supremacy of civil law.

We declare that the militia of our several states should be organized and controlled by the democratic institutions of our country, so that this voluntary force of citizen soldiery may never be diverted from its true purpose to be used to jeopardize or infringe upon the liberties of our people.

The right to bear arms is a fundamental principle of our government, a principle regarded at all times by free people as essential to the maintenance of their liberties and institutions. We demand that this right shall remain inviolate.

Unquestionably the perpetuity of our ideals of government and the maintenance of our free institutions depend largely upon the character of training received by the youth of today—the citizens of tomorrow. While demanding that our public schools shall so teach our children as to develop keen, ready minds, and inspire them with high and lofty ideals fully prepared to intelligently exercise the duties and responsibility of a free people, we also demand that the body of every child be so trained in our schools as to develop them into full manhood and womanhood. We likewise insist that the youth of today—the worker of tomorrow, be so trained as to take his place in our industries fully equipped and prepared to protect his rights as a worker and to properly exercise his influence in our economic and industrial life.

We are, however, unalterably opposed to any form of physical training or any quality of mental education, which would tend to inculcate the spirit of "militarism." The child's immature and impressionable mind must not be taught to think, except with horror, upon the killing of human beings. To arouse the thought that any of their school hours are devoted to preparation for the possible use of arms against their fellow men, is to brutalize their instincts and subvert the influence of the necessary lessons of humanity, peace and good will, which it is the duty of our public schools to impress upon them.

These are the principles upon which the American Federation of Labor declares its position.

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We speak for millions of Americans. We are not a sect. We are not a party. We represent the organizations held together by the pressure of our common needs. We represent the part of the nation closest to the fundamentals of life. Those we represent wield the nation's tools and grapple with the forces that are brought under control in our material civilization. The power and use of industrial tools is greater than the tools of war and will in time supersede agencies of destruction.

A world war is on. The time has not yet come when war has been abolished. Whether we approve it or not we must recognize that war is a situation with which we must reckon. The present European war, involving as it does the majority of civilized nations and affecting the industry and commerce of the whole world, threatens at any moment to draw all countries, including our own, into the conflict. Our immediate problem, then, is to bring to bear upon war conditions instructive forethought, vision, principles of human welfare and conservation that should direct our course in every eventuality of life. The way to avert war is to establish constructive agencies for justice in times of peace and thus con-

¹ American Federation of Labor Declaration adopted at session held in Washington, March 12, where all members of the Executive Council, 148, representatives of 79 affiliated national and international unions, five unaffiliated organizations and the five departments of the A. F. of L. were present. The declaration was adopted unanimously.—*American Federationist*, April, 1917, pp. 277-280.

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trol for peace situations and forces that might otherwise result in war.

The methods of modern warfare, its new tactics, its vast organization, both military and industrial, present problems vastly different from those of previous wars. But the nation's problems afford an opportunity for the establishment of new freedom and wider opportunities for all the people. Modern warfare includes contests between workshops, factories, the land, financial and transportation resources of the countries involved; and necessarily applied to the relations between employers and employees, and as our own country now faces an impending peril, it is fitting that the masses of the people of the United States should take counsel and determine what course they shall pursue should a crisis arise necessitating the protection of our Republic and defense of the ideals for which it stands.

In the struggle between the forces of democracy and special privilege, for just and historic reasons the masses of the people necessarily represent the ideals and the institutions of democracy. There is in organized society one potential organization whose purpose is to further these ideals and institutions—the organized labor movement.

In no previous war has the organized labor movement taken a directing part.

Labor has now reached an understanding of its rights, of its power and resources, of its value and contributions to society, and must make definite constructive proposals.

It is timely that we frankly present experiences and conditions which in former times have prevented nations from benefiting by the voluntary, whole-hearted coöperation of wage-earners in war time, and then make suggestions how these hindrances to our national strength and vigor can be removed.

War has never put a stop to the necessity for struggle to establish and maintain industrial rights. Wage-earners in war time must, as has been said, keep one eye on the exploiters at home and the other on the enemy threatening the national government. Such exploitation made it possible for a warring nation to mobilize effectively its full strength for outward defense.

We maintain that it is the fundamental step in preparedness for the nation to set its own house in order and to establish at home justice in relations between men. Previous wars, for whatever purpose waged, developed new opportunities for exploiting wage-earners. Not only was there failure to recognize the necessity for protecting rights of workers that they might give that whole-hearted service to the country that can come only when every citizen enjoys rights, freedom and opportunity, but under guise of national necessity, labor was stripped of its means of defense against enemies at home and was robbed of the advantages, the protections, the guarantees of justice that had been achieved after ages of struggle. For these reasons workers have felt that no matter what the result of war, as wage-earners they generally lost.

In previous times Labor had no representatives in the councils authorized to deal with the conduct of war. The rights, interests and welfare of workers were autocratically sacrificed for the slogan of "national safety."

The European war has demonstrated the dependence of the governments upon the coöperation of the masses of the people. Since the masses perform indispensable service, it follows that they should have a voice in determining the conditions upon which they give service.

The workers of America make known their beliefs, their demands and their purposes through a voluntary agency which they have established—the organized labor movement. This agency is not only the representative of those who directly constitute it, but it is the representative of all those persons who have common problems and purposes but who have not yet organized for their achievement.

Whether in peace or in war the organized labor movement seeks to make all else subordinate to human welfare and human opportunity. The labor movement stands as the defender of this principle and undertakes to protect the wealth-producers against the exorbitant greed of special interests,

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against profiteering, against exploitation, against the detestable methods of irresponsible greed, against the inhumanity of crime and heartless corporations and employers.

Labor demands the right in war times to be the recognized defender of wage-earners against the same forces which in former wars have made national necessity an excuse for more ruthless methods.

As the representatives of the wage-earners we assert that conditions of work and pay in government employment and in all occupations should conform to principles of human welfare and justice.

A nation cannot make an effective defense against an outside danger if groups of citizens are asked to take part in a war though smarting with a sense of keen injustice inflicted by the government they are expected to and will defend.

The cornerstone of national defense is justice in fundamental relations — economic justice.

The one agency which accomplishes this for the workers is the organized labor movement. The greatest step that can be made for national defense is not to bind and throttle the organized labor movement but to afford it the greatest scope and opportunity for voluntary effective cooperation in spirit and in action.

During the long period in which it has been establishing itself, the labor movement has become a dynamic force in organizing the human side of industry and commerce. It is a great social factor, which must be recognized in all plans which affect wage-earners.

Whether planning for peace or war the government must recognize the organized labor movement as the agency through which it must cooperate with the wage-earners.

Industrial justice is the right of those living within our country. With this right there is associated obligation. In war time obligation takes the form of service in defense of the Republic against enemies.

We recognize that this service may be either military or industrial, both equally essential for national defense. We hold this to be incontrovertible that the government which demands that men and women give their labor power, their bodies or their lives to its service should also demand the service in the interest of these human beings, of all wealth and the products of human toil — property.

We hold that if workers may be asked in time of national peril or emergency to give more exhausting service than the principles of human welfare warrant, that service should be asked only when accompanied by increased guarantees and safeguards, and when the profits which the employer shall secure from the industry in which they are engaged have been limited to fixed percentages.

We declare that such determination of profits should be based on costs of processes actually needed for product.

Workers have no delusions regarding the policy which property owners and exploiting employers pursue in peace or in war and they also recognize that wrapped up with the safety of this Republic are ideals of democracy, a heritage which the masses of the people received from our forefathers, who fought that liberty might live in this country — a heritage that is to be maintained and handed down to each generation with undiminished power and usefulness.

The labor movement recognizes the value of freedom and it knows that freedom and rights can be maintained only by those willing to assert their claims and to defend their rights. The American labor movement has always opposed unnecessary conflicts and all wars for aggrandizement, exploitation and enslavement, and yet it has done its part in the world's revolutions, in the struggles to establish greater freedom, democratic institutions and ideals of human justice.

Our labor movement distrusts and protests against militarism, because it knows that militarism represents privilege and is the tool of special interests, exploiters and despots. But while it opposes militarism, it holds that it is the duty of a nation to defend itself against injustice and invasion.

The menace of militarism arises through isolating the defensive functions

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of the state from civic activities and from creating military agencies out of touch with the masses of the people. Isolation is subversive to democracy—it harbors and nurtures the germs of arbitrary power.

The labor movement demands that a clear differentiation be made against military service for the nation and police duty, and that military service should be carefully distinguished from service in industrial disputes.

We hold that industrial service shall be deemed equally meritorious as military service. Organization for industrial and commercial service is upon a different basis from military service—the civic ideals still dominate. This should be recognized in mobilizing for this purpose. The same voluntary institutions that organized industrial, commercial and transportation workers in times of peace will best take care of the same problem in time of war.

It is fundamental, therefore, that the government cooperate with the American organized labor movement for this purpose. Service in government factories and private establishments, in transportation agencies, all should conform to trade union standards.

The guarantees of human conservation should be recognized in war as well as in peace. Wherever changes in the organization of industry are necessary upon a war basis, they should be made in accord with plans agreed upon by representatives of the government and those engaged and employed in the industry. We recognize that in war, in certain employments requiring high skill, it is necessary to retain in industrial service the workers specially fitted therefor. In any eventuality when women may be employed, we insist that equal pay for equal work shall prevail without regard to sex.

Finally, in order to safeguard all the interests of the wage-earners organized labor should have representation on all agencies determining and administering policies for national defense. It is particularly important that organized labor should have representatives on all boards authorized to control publicity during war times. The workers have suffered much injustice in war times by limitations upon their right to speak freely and to secure publicity for their just grievances.

Organized labor has earned the right to make these demands. It is the agency that, in all countries, stands for human rights and is the defender of the welfare and interests of the masses of the people. It is an agency that has international recognition which is not seeking to rob, exploit or corrupt foreign governments but instead seeks to maintain human rights and interests the world over, nor does it have to dispel suspicion nor prove its motives either at home or abroad.

The present war discloses the struggle between the institutions of democracy and those of autocracy. As a nation we should profit from the experiences of other nations. Democracy cannot be established by patches upon an autocratic system. The foundations of civilized intercourse between individuals must be organized upon principles of democracy and scientific principles of human welfare. Then a national structure can be perfected in harmony with humanitarian idealism—a structure that will stand the tests of the necessities of peace or war.

We, the officers of the National and International Trade Unions of America in national conference assembled in the capital of our nation, hereby pledge ourselves in peace and in war, in stress or in storm, to stand unreservedly by the standards of liberty and the safety and preservation of the institutions and ideals of our Republic.

In this solemn hour of our nation's life, it is our earnest hope that our Republic may be safeguarded in its unswerving desire for peace; that our people may be spared the horrors and the burdens of war; that they may have the opportunity to cultivate and develop the arts of peace, human brotherhood and a higher civilization.

But despite all our endeavors and hopes, should our country be drawn into the maelstrom of the European conflict, we, with these ideals of liberty and justice herein declare as the indispensable basis for national policies, offer our services to our country in every field of activity to defend, safeguard, and preserve the Republic of the United States of America against

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its enemies whomsoever they may be, and we call upon our fellow workers and fellow citizens in the holy name of Labor, Justice, Freedom and Humanity, to devotedly and patriotically give like service.

AMERICAN SOCIALISTS AND THE WAR¹

The attitude of the Socialist Party towards the war presents a record of consistent adherence to the principles of international Socialism.

From the day of the first declaration of war in Europe to the day of this writing the Socialist Party has been determined and emphatic in its opposition. It preserved an attitude of strict neutrality towards the belligerent powers before our entrance in the war. It protested vigorously on every occasion when our country seemed in danger of becoming involved in the conflict. Before and after our entrance in the war alike, the Socialist Party advocated an immediate and general peace. At all times it has endeavored to re-unite the Socialist International and to revive it as a factor for lasting peace within and among the nations of the world.

The Socialist opposition to war is based not merely on humanitarian grounds, potent and compelling as these are, but principally on the deep-rooted conviction that modern wars are at the bottom struggles for the commercial advantages of the possessing classes, and that they are disastrous to the cause of the workers, their struggles and aspirations, their rights and liberties.

This attitude need not necessarily imply an equal condemnation of all warring governments or of all methods of warfare or an indifference to the outcome of the war and to the terms upon which peace will be concluded. But Socialists refuse to accept the naive theory that the great world catastrophe is due solely or even primarily to the sheer love of mischief on the part of an unruly nation, and that the future of mankind would be made safe by punishment of the culprit. The solemn assertion that Germany is the "swashbuckler of Europe" and must be spanked, may satisfy the simple minds of English statesmen and American newspaper editors. To Socialists accustomed to look to substantial motives back of great historical events, the explanation is singularly inadequate, and the remedy ludicrously inefficient.

Modern penology has long discarded the crude notion that crime is caused by wilful individual perversity and that punishment is either a corrective for the criminal or a deterrent for the would-be criminal. Enlightened penologists are unanimous in the conviction that crime is mostly the product of unjust and

¹ For a fuller account of the attitude of the Socialist Party toward war and militarism see the pamphlet, "The American Socialists and the War," edited by Alexander Trachtenberg (Rand School, 1917).

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unhealthy social conditions and environment, and that a radical and permanent cure of crime can only be achieved in the improvement and correction of those conditions.

The Socialists hold that this obvious truth applies to nations in even a larger measure than to individuals. No nation is inherently vicious, but the irrational and inhuman conditions of modern "civilization" are bound to force them all into vicious and savage conduct from time to time.

The contemporaneous social order is based upon the principle of general, indiscriminate and unremitting struggle for life, wealth and power. The struggle is waged within each nation and between the nations, and before the outbreak of the war in Europe it had reached an acute and critical stage. The ruling classes of each leading country, the powers of money, industry and trade, were reaching out for the commercial control of the world, and their respective interests and ambitions were sharply clashing with each other. The governments of the nations were in all cases primarily the agencies of the capitalistic interests. The commercial quarrels of the latter reflected themselves in the diplomatic intrigues of the former.

The policy of imperialism necessitated secret treaties and alliances and active preparations for war. The war was thus systematically prepared and organized by the governments of the great European nations in the course of many years. It was due about 1914.

Every great national or international iniquity has ever been clothed by its apologists in the iridescent garb of lofty idealism, and so this war is presented to us as a fight for democracy and justice. No doubt many of our ardent war apostles are entirely sincere in their professions. No doubt the bulk of the emotional masses unquestioningly accept this idealistic theory. But this cannot blind us to the fact that the war was essentially commercial in its origin, and that it is largely waged for material gain, at least in so far as the governments of some of the leading belligerent countries are concerned. It is this fundamental conception which largely determines the Socialist opposition to the war and the Socialist program of peace.

American Socialists have little patience with proposed peace terms based upon a desire to "repair the wrongs" of this war. The wrongs of this war are irreparable. No power on earth can recall to life the millions of young men, mostly workers, who have been slain on the dread battlefields of Europe, or restore to health the millions of maimed, crippled and disfigured human beings. No amount of territory or gold will atone for the bottomless havoc inflicted by this war, for the moral and spiritual ruin it has wrought. A peace built on the principle of "reparation" would leave all the active factors and causes of war in full and fatal operation. It would be nothing but a patched-up truce,

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a prelude to new wars. The Socialists strive above everything for a peace that will offer guarantees of permanence, a peace convention that will eliminate the danger of future wars. They believe that such peace terms are quite possible even to-day before the competitive system of capitalism, the most direct cause of modern wars, is abolished.

To this end the governments must first of all be divorced from the capitalist interests, and become true mouthpieces of the people. "The world must be made safe for democracy"; not democracy in form and name alone, as so many modern capitalist republics are, but democracy in fact such as prevails in Russia at this time. This one fundamental basis of peace can not be incorporated in a formal peace convention or brought about by victory on the battlefield. It can only be forced by the people of each country upon their own government, and the organization of the people of all countries for that step is the special task of the international Socialist movement. The other indispensable conditions, which may and should be incorporated in the peace compact, are these:

1. The nations must disarm, immediately and completely. There can be no lasting peace so long as armies and navies are held in constant readiness for war. There can be no wars so long as there are no armies and navies to fight them.
2. The world and its highways must be made free for international intercourse and trade.
3. Each nation must be given the right of complete political self-government without interference by any other nation.
4. All nations, large and small, must form a union for peaceful co-operation in the work of advancing international progress and for the rational and peaceful adjustment of disputes.

When these basic and vital conditions have been achieved the question of adjusting the immediate differences between the nations at war assumes a secondary importance. The main object of the terms of immediate settlement must be to reconcile the hostile nations and to prepare them for friendly collaboration. That is presumably what the President of the United States had in mind when less than half a year ago he announced to the unanimous acclaim of all forward-looking men and women of the country "that it must be a peace without victory. . . . Victory would mean peace forced upon the loser, a victor's terms imposed upon the vanquished. It would be accepted in humiliation, under duress, at an intolerable sacrifice, and would leave a sting, a resentment, a bitter memory, upon which terms of peace would rest, not permanently but only as upon quicksand."

This is also the true and deep meaning of the terse slogan of the Russian Revolution: "No annexation, no indemnities."

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Is such a peace program feasible and practical or is it merely the utopia of the dreamer?

That depends. If peace is to come through the victory of arms and its terms are to be dictated by the governments through the conventional methods of diplomacy, the formula of perpetual peace without humiliation or spoliation will remain a mere dream, but if peace is to be brought about by the workers, those of Germany as well as the other belligerent countries, it will become a reality in fact as it is already a reality in the official policy of the Russian republic.

As the fatal war progresses it becomes daily more evident that the sinister forces of social strife and disorder which the rule of capitalism has conjured up are stronger than the conscious will of the ruling classes and the governments themselves. Just as the rulers of the nations have been unable to prevent the outbreak of the war, so are they now impotent to terminate the conflict. The hope of the world rests upon the people of the world, and in the first instance upon the Socialists of all countries.

The international Socialist movement, which in August, 1914, was overwhelmed by the suddenness and violence of the world catastrophe, is beginning to recover. In every country at war, including Germany and Austria, the Socialist opposition to the war is growing daily. If the Socialist International has proved too weak to prevent war, the indications are that it will eventually become a compelling power for the restoration of peace. Of all the forces that operated in modern society before the war Socialism alone promises to emerge from the abyss chastened and strengthened, victorious and triumphant. It will forever be to the credit of the Socialist Party of America that during the period of the acutest crisis in the life of international Socialism, it has not failed or wavered, but has stood loyally and courageously by the working class and upheld the true ultimate interests of human civilization in the face of attacks, persecution and desertion.

MORRIS HILLQUIT.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY AND THE WAR¹

The Socialist Party of the United States in the present grave crisis, solemnly reaffirms its allegiance to the principle of internationalism and working class solidarity the world over, and proclaims its unalterable opposition to the war just declared by the government of the United States.

Modern wars as a rule have been caused by the commercial and financial rivalry and intrigues of the capitalist interests in the different countries. Whether they have been frankly waged as wars of aggression or have been hypocritically represented as wars of "defense," they have

¹ Majority report adopted at the St. Louis Convention of the Socialist Party, April 7-14, 1917, and ratified by referendum. See article on the St. Louis Convention.

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always been made by the classes and fought by the masses. Wars bring wealth and power to the ruling classes, and suffering, death and demoralization to the workers.

They breed a sinister spirit of passion, unreason, race hatred and false patriotism. They obscure the struggles of the workers for life, liberty and social justice. They tend to sever the vital bonds of solidarity between them and their brothers in other countries, to destroy their organizations and to curtail their civic and political rights and liberties.

The Socialist Party of the United States is unalterably opposed to the system of exploitation and class rule which is upheld and strengthened by military power and sham national patriotism. We, therefore, call upon the workers of all countries to refuse support to their governments in their wars. The wars of the contending national groups of capitalists are not the concern of the workers. The only struggle which would justify the workers in taking up arms is the great struggle of the working class of the world to free itself from economic exploitation and political oppression, and we particularly warn the workers against the snare and delusion of so-called defensive warfare. As against the false doctrine of national patriotism we uphold the ideal of international working-class solidarity. In support of capitalism, we will not willingly give a single life or a single dollar; in support of the struggle of the workers for freedom we pledge our all.

The mad orgy of death and destruction which is now convulsing unfortunate Europe was caused by the conflict of capitalist interests in the European countries.

In each of these countries, the workers were oppressed and exploited. They produced enormous wealth but the bulk of it was withheld from them by the owners of the industries. The workers were thus deprived of the means to repurchase the wealth which they themselves had created.

The capitalist class of each country was forced to look for foreign markets to dispose of the accumulated "surplus" wealth. The huge profits made by the capitalists could no longer be profitably reinvested in their own countries, hence, they were driven to look for foreign fields of investment. The geographical boundaries of each modern capitalist country thus became too narrow for the industrial and commercial operations of its capitalist class.

The efforts of the capitalists of all leading nations were therefore centered upon the domination of the world markets. Imperialism became the dominant note in the politics of Europe. The acquisition of colonial possessions and the extension of spheres of commercial and political influence became the object of diplomatic intrigues and the cause of constant clashes between nations.

The acute competition between the capitalist powers of the earth, their jealousies and distrusts of one another and the fear of the rising power of the working class forced each of them to arm to the teeth. This led to the mad rivalry of armament, which, years before the outbreak of the present war, had turned the leading countries of Europe into armed camps with standing armies of many millions, drilled and equipped for war in times of "peace."

Capitalism, imperialism and militarism had thus laid the foundation of an inevitable general conflict in Europe. The ghastly war in Europe was not caused by an accidental event, nor by the policy or institutions of any single nation. It was the logical outcome of the competitive capitalist system.

The six million men of all countries and races who have been ruthlessly slain in the first thirty months of this war, the millions of others who have been crippled and maimed, the vast treasures of wealth that have been destroyed, the untold misery and sufferings of Europe, have not been sacrifices exacted in a struggle for principles or ideals, but wanton offerings upon the altar of private profit.

The forces of capitalism which have led to the war in Europe are even more hideously transparent in the war recently provoked by the ruling class of this country.

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When Belgium was invaded, the government enjoined upon the people of this country the duty of remaining neutral, thus clearly demonstrating that the "dictates of humanity," and the fate of small nations and of democratic institutions were matters that did not concern it. But when our enormous war traffic was seriously threatened, our government calls upon us to rally to the "defense of democracy and civilization."

Our entrance into the European war was instigated by the predatory capitalists in the United States who boast of the enormous profit of seven billion dollars from the manufacture and sale of munitions and war supplies and from the exportation of American food stuffs and other necessities. They are also deeply interested in the continuance of war and the success of the allied arms through their huge loans to the governments of the allied powers and through other commercial ties. It is the same interests which strive for imperialistic domination of the Western Hemisphere.

The war of the United States against Germany cannot be justified even on the plea that it is a war in defense of American rights or American "honor." Ruthless as the unrestricted submarine war policy of the German government was and is, it is not an invasion of the rights of the American people, as such, but only an interference with the opportunity of certain groups of American capitalists to coin cold profits out of the blood and sufferings of our fellow men in the warring countries of Europe.

It is not a war against the militarist regime of the Central Powers. Militarism can never be abolished by militarism.

It is not a war to advance the cause of democracy in Europe. Democracy can never be imposed upon any country by a foreign power by force of arms.

It is cant and hypocrisy to say that the war is not directed against the German people, but against the Imperial Government of Germany. If we send an armed force to the battlefields of Europe, its cannon will mow down the masses of the German people and not the Imperial German Government.

Our entrance into the European conflict at this time will serve only to multiply the horrors of the war, to increase the toll of death and destruction and to prolong the fiendish slaughter. It will bring death, suffering and destitution to the people of the United States and particularly to the working class. It will give the powers of reaction in this country the pretext for an attempt to throttle our rights and to crush our democratic institutions, and to fasten upon this country a permanent militarism.

The working class of the United States has no quarrel with the working class of Germany or of any other country. The people of the United States have no quarrel with the people of Germany or any other country. The American people did not want and do not want this war. They have not been consulted about the war and have had no part in declaring war. They have been plunged into this war by the trickery and treachery of the ruling class of the country through its representatives in the National Administration and National Congress, its demagogic agitators, its subsidized press, and other servile instruments of public expression.

We brand the declaration of war by our government as a crime against the people of the United States and against the nations of the world.

In all modern history there has been no war more unjustifiable than the war in which we are about to engage.

No greater dishonor has ever been forced upon a people than that which the capitalist class is forcing upon this nation against its will.

In harmony with these principles, the Socialist Party emphatically rejects the proposal that in time of war the workers should suspend their struggle for better conditions. On the contrary, the acute situation created by war calls for an even more vigorous prosecution of the class struggle, and we recommend to the workers and pledge ourselves to the following course of action:

1. Continuous, active, and public opposition to the war, through demonstrations, mass petitions, and all other means within our power.

2. Unyielding opposition to all proposed legislation for military or

LABOR AND WAR

industrial conscription. Should such conscription be forced upon the people, we pledge ourselves to continuous efforts for the repeal of such laws and to the support of all mass movements in opposition to conscription. We pledge ourselves to oppose with all our strength any attempt to raise money for payment of war expense by taxing the necessities of life or issuing bonds which will put the burden upon future generations. We demand that the capitalist class, which is responsible for the war, pay its cost. Let those who kindled the fire, furnish the fuel.

3. Vigorous resistance to all reactionary measures, such as censorship of press and mails, restriction of the rights of free speech, assemblage, and organization, or compulsory arbitration and limitation of the right to strike.

4. Consistent propaganda against military training and militaristic teaching in the public schools.

5. Extension of the campaign of education among the workers to organize them into strong, class-conscious, and closely unified political and industrial organizations, to enable them by concerted and harmonious mass action to shorten this war and to establish lasting peace.

6. Widespread educational propaganda to enlighten the masses as to the true relation between capitalism and war, and to rouse and organize them for action, not only against present war evils, but for the prevention of future wars and for the destruction of the causes of war.

7. To protect the masses of the American people from the pressing danger of starvation which the war in Europe has brought upon them, and which the entry of the United States has already accentuated, we demand—

(a) The restriction of food exports so long as the present shortage continues, the fixing of maximum prices and whatever measures may be necessary to prevent the food speculators from holding back the supplies now in their hands;

(b) The socialization and democratic management of the great industries concerned with the production, transportation, storage, and the marketing of food and other necessities of life;

(c) The socialization and democratic management of all land and other natural resources now held out of use for monopolistic or speculative profit.

These measures are presented as means of protecting the workers against the evil results of the present war. The danger of recurrence of war will exist as long as the capitalist system of industry remains in existence. The end of wars will come with the establishment of socialized industry and industrial democracy the world over. The Socialist Party calls upon all the workers to join it in its struggle to reach this goal, and thus bring into the world a new society in which peace, fraternity, and human brotherhood will be the dominant ideals.

PART TWO

THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES¹

THE EXTENT OF TRADE UNIONISM²

The total membership of trade unions in the United States in 1910 was 2,116,317; in the same year the total number of persons gainfully engaged in industry in this country was 38,134,712. The members of trade unions, therefore, constituted in the last census year 5.5 per cent. of the industrial population of the United States. This percentage, however, appreciably underestimates the strength of the trade union movement because of the inclusion, in the aggregate of persons "gainfully engaged" in industry, of members of the employing and salaried classes. By combining those groups of industry that are composed of members of the employing, salaried, and fee-receiving classes, such as merchants, managers, and clergymen, a total for this group of 10,939,808 is obtained. Accordingly, the wage earning class in 1910 can be said to have numbered 27,194,904 persons; and of this number 7.7 per cent. were members of labor organizations. Adherents of the labor movement would still maintain that this last index, based upon a group that includes such wage earners as agricultural laborers and domestic servants, was not fairly indicative of the actual strength and extent of trade unionism. They would use as a basis for the calculation of the percentage of organization that group of wage earners which the trade union makes definite and sustained efforts to organize. Since no such efforts have been made, until the present at least, to organize agricultural laborers and domestic servants, because of their condition of individual isolation, and similarly because the social and economic status of such employees as clerks and stenographers precludes any large extension in organization among that class of workers, it is contended that a fair estimate of the extent of labor organization can be based only upon a group in which these classes are not included. Furthermore, practically every trade union maintains an age limit below which it will not admit workmen in the industry into membership in the union. The average lower age limit for all trade unions may be roughly

¹ For articles on the Jewish labor movement, The Industrial Workers of the World, Fraternal labor organizations, the "Protocol," Teachers' unions and a list of official trade-union journals, see *The American Labor Year Book*, 1916, Pt. I.

² For a comprehensive discussion of this whole subject see the writer's article on "The Extent of Labor Organization in the United States in 1910," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, May, 1916, p. 486. See also his article on "The Extent of Trade Unionism," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, January, 1917, p. 118.

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stated at twenty years. When all persons engaged in industry as agricultural laborers, in domestic and personal service, in such occupations as stenographers and saleswomen, and also persons below the age of twenty be combined and the total for this group be deducted from the 27,000,000 wage-earners in the United States in 1910 a resulting group of 11,490,944 persons, who may be characterized as constituting a potential trade union membership, is obtained. And with this class as a basis, the degree of organization is found to be 18.4 per cent. Accordingly, the most conservative survey of the situation would indicate that in the United States in 1910, 92.3 per cent. of the wage-earners were unorganized; whereas, the most liberal estimates would show that 81.6 per cent. of those persons who are susceptible of organization were without the trade union.¹

The foregoing statement must be qualified in one important respect. A large factor in the relative extent of trade unionism is the territorial distribution of the working force of the nation. The influence upon the growth of labor organizations of the urbanization and concentration of industry is well known to every student of industrial history. It is generally true that, where workmen live in thinly settled communities and work in small establishments, the rise and growth of trade unions is long retarded. It is this condition that, to a great extent, explains the surprisingly low percentage of organization in this country. Large numbers of carpenters and bricklayers, for example, are to be found in the rural sections of the country. Such workmen, even tho they may constitute potential competitors of laborers in the urban districts, the union finds it not only difficult but also undesirable, because of the expense of propaganda and of organization, to organize. If, therefore, it were possible to calculate the extent of organization among workmen living in cities of 10,000 population and over, the available data on the subject lead one to believe that the percentage would be much higher than for the country as a whole.²

By far the greater part of the membership of American trade unions is concentrated in a few industries and occupations. The remaining industries and occupations, excluding agriculture, domestic and personal service, and trade, in which organization is negligible, have either very little or no organization. To throw light upon the distribution of trade unionism in the mechanical and manufacturing, extractive, transportation, and building industries, those industries have been classified into

¹ The extent of organization is, of course, much smaller among the female employees. Of the 8,075,000 women "gainfully engaged" in industry in 1910, 73,800 or only 0.9 per cent. were members of labor organizations. If the degree of organization be calculated on the basis of female wage-earners, the 1,819,741 female wage-earners show an organization of only 4.1 per cent.

² George E. Barnett, "Trade Agreements and Industrial Education," Bulletin No. 22, National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education, p. 3.

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three groups. The following table contains the highly organized industries or those having an organization of over 30 per cent.:

<i>Name of Industry</i>	<i>Number of Persons in Industry</i>	<i>Percentage Organized</i>
Breweries	55,418	88.8
Marble and Stone yards	55,558	45.4
Printing and Bookbinding	249,456	34.3
Glass Factories	88,641	34.3
Mining	884,456	30.5
Total	1,278,524	

Of the five industries included in this table, three are organized along occupational lines and two industrially. In the marble and stone yards, printing and bookbinding industry, and glass factories the ratio of the number of skilled to unskilled workmen is comparatively high; and the high degree of organization in these industries is to be explained by the high percentage of organization among the skilled workmen. In mines and breweries, however, altho the relative amount of unskilled labor is somewhat greater than in the first three cases, the adoption of the industrial form of organization, together with other factors, has effected as high a degree of organization as where the ratio of skilled workmen is somewhat greater. The unusually high percentage in breweries is attributed to the effective use by the United Brewery Workmen of the boycott as an organizing device.

In the next table are given those industries that show an organization from 15 to 30 per cent.:

<i>Name of Industry</i>	<i>Number of Persons in Industry</i>	<i>Percentage Organized</i>
Cigars and Tobacco	170,904	27.3
Potteries	26,369	21.9
Transportation	2,862,260	17.3
Clothing	608,892	16.9
Building Trades	2,444,895	16.2
Total	6,112,820	

The facts elicited in the discussion of the first table are for the most part confirmed by the evidence contained in the second. Defining an occupation in the broader sense as including closely related forms of labor, it is not improper to state that the unions claiming jurisdiction over the various operatives in each of the foregoing industries are all trade or occupational unions. Furthermore, the ratio of skilled to unskilled workmen is appreciably lower in this than in the first group of industries. Whatever organization does exist is to be found in the main among the skilled workers. This is notably the case in the building and transportation industries where such skilled workmen as locomotive engineers and bricklayers are highly organized, whereas the unskilled maintenance of way employees and building laborers are totally unorganized. In the clothing industry there is still room for a considerable extension of organization even

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among the skilled or semi-skilled operatives; here, however, the policy of the union and the changing character of the labor force in the industry have constituted serious obstacles to increased organization. In the manufacture of cigars and tobacco, also, the problem has been not only one of organizing unskilled workers and of opening the union of the skilled to the unskilled, but the difficulty of organizing the latter has been greatly enhanced by effective opposition to unionism from the American Tobacco Company.

The last table is composed of those industries that have an organization of less than 15 per cent.:

<i>Name of Industry</i>	<i>Number of Persons in Industry</i>	<i>Percentage Organized</i>
Leather	293,085	14.5
Electric Light and Power	252,883	14.3
Lumber and Furniture	597,174	10.7
Iron and Steel	1,746,887	9.9
Food and kindred products....	299,176	7.6
Quarrying	85,919	7.3
Metal	390,041	4.7
Textile	800,251	3.7
Paper and Pulp	101,797	3.6
Chemical and allied industries	78,585	0.4
Total	4,670,248	

The high correlation between skill and extent of organization is again the most striking feature of this table. Even where trade unionism has to some degree penetrated, the great bulk of trade unionists are skilled workmen. The iron and steel industry, for example, shows an organization of 9.9 per cent.; but practically all of the organization exists among such skilled workmen as iron molders and pattern makers. The unskilled laborers in the steel mills, over whom the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers claims jurisdiction have an organization of probably less than 2 per cent. The same situation exists in the leather, lumber, textile, paper and chemical industries. Another, and perhaps a more important element responsible for the lack of organization in several of these industries is the concentration of ownership which places in the hands of the managers of the industry various means for combating the growth of organization. The persistent opposition of the United States Steel Corporation, the International Paper Company, and of the American Woolen Company to trade unionism has been as potent a factor in hindering the organization of their employees as the presence in these industries of large numbers of unskilled laborers.

The American labor movement, however, is almost completely, in the strict sense of the term, a trade union movement. Not until very recently has there been any palpable extension in the direction of industrial organization. The extent to which the industries of the country are organized does not for this reason

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indicate with the greatest accuracy the success of labor organizations in organizing those workers over whom the individual organizations claim jurisdiction—that is, those workingmen who are employed in well-defined and in, for the most part, skilled trades. The foregoing analysis should accordingly be supplemented by a survey of the extent of organization in the more important occupational or trade divisions of industry.

Excluding from the discussion those occupations in which there was no organization, of the thirty-three trades concerning which statistics were obtainable, five—railway conductors, electrotypers, brakemen, locomotive engineers, and stonemasons,—were from 50 per cent. to 100 per cent. organized. In the next group of occupations from 30 to 50 per cent. organized were brick masons, printers, locomotive firemen, mail carriers, molders, pattern makers, plasterers, potters, and woolsorters. The third and largest group, composed of trades from 15 to 30 per cent. organized, included bakers, barbers, bartenders, bookbinders, carpenters, coopers, loomfixers, metal polishers, painters, plumbers, switchmen, tinsmiths, and woodcarvers. And in the final class with an organization of less than 15 per cent. were blacksmiths, brickmakers, glove workers, machinists, teamsters, and waiters.

In practically all occupations the percentage of organization is higher than in the various industrial divisions; and this is the natural result of the occupational character of the typical American labor union. Where these organizations have expended the greatest efforts, they have met with the most signal success. Beyond this, however, differences in organization can as before be explained by the varying proportions in different industries and occupations of skilled and unskilled workmen. A summary of the situation in 1910 would state that the small percentage of organization is due primarily to four factors. 1. The great bulk of the unorganized workers live in small towns and rural districts where their inaccessibility and dispersion makes organization difficult and, if not undesirable, at least not pressing. 2. Of almost equal importance as a problem of organization is the unskilled worker. By reason of the large supply of unskilled labor and the ease with which it may be replaced, organization of the unskilled has, until the present at least, made little progress. 3. Somewhat greater success in organizing the unskilled laborers seems to have been attained by the use of the industrial form of organization than by the trade union. Altho the majority of American unions are nominally occupational organizations, many, however, are rapidly assuming the character of industrial unions. 4. Finally, concentration of ownership, combined with a hostility to labor organizations, has constituted in most cases an insurmountable barrier to the labor organizer.¹

University of Michigan.

LEO WOLMAN.

¹ A discussion of the growth of trade unionism relative to the growth of

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THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

PRINCIPLES

"Whereas, a struggle is going on in all the nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the toiling millions if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit;

"It, therefore, behooves the representatives of the Trade and Labor Unions of America, in convention assembled, to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the mechanics and laborers of our country as will permanently unite them to secure the recognition of rights to which they are justly entitled.

"We, therefore, declare ourselves in favor of the formation of a thorough Federation, embracing every Trade and Labor Organization in America, organized under the Trade Union system."

Objects—"Section 4. An American Federation of all National and International Trade Unions, to aid and assist each other; to aid and encourage the sale of union label goods, and to secure legislation in the interest of the working people, and influence public opinion, by peaceful and legal methods, in favor of organized labor."

ECONOMIC PLATFORM

1. The abolition of all forms of involuntary servitude, except as punishment for crime.
2. Free schools, free textbooks and compulsory education.
3. Unrelenting protest against the issuance and abuse of injunction process in labor disputes.
4. A work day of not more than eight hours in the twenty-four hour day.
5. A strict recognition of not over eight hours per day on all Federal, State or municipal work, and not less than the prevailing per diem wage rate of the class of employment in the vicinity where the work is performed.
6. Release from employment one day in seven.
7. The abolition of the contract system on public work.
8. The municipal ownership of public utilities.
9. The abolition of the sweat-shop system.
10. Sanitary inspection of factory, workshop, mine and home.
11. Liability of employers for injury to body or loss of life.
12. The nationalization of telegraph and telephone.
13. The passage of anti-child labor laws in states where they do not exist and rigid defense of them where they have been enacted into law.
14. Woman suffrage co-equal with man suffrage.
15. Suitable and plentiful playgrounds for children in all cities.
16. The Initiative and Referendum and the Imperative Mandate and Right of Recall.
17. Continued agitation for the public bath system in all cities.
18. Qualification in permits to build of all cities and towns, that there shall be bathrooms and bathroom attachments in all houses or compartments used for habitation.
19. We favor a system of finance whereby money shall be issued exclusively by the Government, with such regulations and restrictions as will protect it from manipulation by the banking interests for their own private gain.

the industrial population of the country will be found in an article by George E. Barnett on the "Growth of Labor Organization in the United States, 1897-1914," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, August, 1916, p. 780.

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CHARACTER

The character of the American Federation of Labor, which was organized in 1881, though not named "A. F. of L." until five years afterwards, was influenced to no small extent by the character of its predecessor—the *Knights of Labor*. This organization, which reached its zenith in 1886, came to grief largely because of its combining in the local assemblies laborers of all varieties and many employers and non-wage-earners; its dual organizations of labor assemblies and trade assemblies; its over centralization; its frequent participation in sympathetic strikes and its peculiar political ventures.

The A. F. of L. desired to avoid these pits. It, therefore, sought to preserve the distinctive character of each trade, kept out, at least at first, of politics; eliminated the dual organization and organized a loose federation of trades, in which the component parts have complete liberty of action.

The A. F. of L. is in reality a federation. Local unions are generally affiliated with it through the nationals. At the end of 1917 it contained 111 national and international unions, 45 state federations, 762 city central bodies, 845 local trade and federal labor unions, 26,761 local unions, 5 department and 441 local department councils. Its membership was reported as 2,371,434.

The real factors in the conduct of the Federation are the conventions, called annually on the second Monday of November—between election and the opening of congress. National and international organizations are represented therein by one delegate for approximately every 4,000 members.

The officers of the Federation are a president, eight vice-presidents, a secretary and a treasurer, each elected the last day of the convention. All elected officers must be members of unions connected with the Federation. The responsible administrative work rests with the Executive Council, composed of the eleven officers. The council watches legislative measures, initiates legislation, schedules speakers and performs many necessary administrative tasks.

National and international unions must pay to the Federation two-thirds of one cent per member per month; local trade unions and federal trade unions, ten cents, five cents of which must be set aside for strikes, etc. State and Central bodies pay \$10 per year. All national unions are supposed to instruct their locals to join the Central labor bodies and state organizations in their vicinities. Seven wage workers of good character favorable to trade unionism, whose trade is not organized and who are not members of any body affiliated with the Federation, may form a local body to be known as a "Federal Labor Union."

THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

The State Federations look after legislation in their respective states and urge more effective organization among the workers. The city councils — meeting generally once a week and composed of representatives from the various locals in their vicinity — look after the general organized labor interests of their respective communities.

The federation also possesses five departments whose objects it is to get various unions to co-operate for mutual advantage — the Union Label, the Building Trades, the Metal Trades, the Railway Employees, and the Mining Departments. Each department, after its establishment, supports itself and manages its own affairs, and has its representative at the meetings of the Executive Council.

The Union Label Department, organized in 1909 for the purpose of inducing unions to have the label placed on their products and unionists to purchase goods bearing the union label, had affiliated with it in 1915, 39 national and international unions. The Bakery & Confectionery Workers were reported to have issued during the year 630,170,000 labels, and the tobacco workers, 446,794,950. The department, in its educational campaign, issued 200,000 pieces of literature, scheduled a number of stereopticon lectures, held union label exhibits, etc.

The Building Trades Department, organized in 1908 — though an evolution from a similar organization formed in 1903 — contains most of the trades engaged in building, and the Metal Trades, those in the metal industries. The Mining Department contains the United Mine Workers, Western Federation of Miners, Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen, Iron, Steel, and Tin workers, and the Machinists.

Although most of the unions connected with the Federation are trade organizations, there are a few industrial unions, including the United Mine Workers, the Brewery Workers, and there is ever more discussion regarding industrial unionism in the ranks of organized labor.

GROWTH OF MEMBERSHIP

The average paid up and reported membership for 1917 was 2,371,434, the largest total membership of the organizations affiliated to the American Federation of Labor since the foundation of the Federation.

National and international organizations are required to pay per capita tax only upon their full paid-up membership, and therefore the 2,371,434 membership reported does not include the members involved in strikes and lockouts, or those who were unemployed during the fiscal year, for whom tax was not received.

Year	Membership	Year	Membership
1897	264,825	1901	787,527
1898	278,016	1902	1,024,899
1899	349,423	1903	1,465,800
1900	548,321	1904	1,676,200

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Year	Membership	Year	Membership
1905	1,494,300	1912	1,770,145
1906	1,464,200	1913	1,996,004
1907	1,588,970	1914	2,020,671
1908	1,586,885	1915	1,946,347
1909	1,482,872	1916	2,072,702
1910	1,562,112	1917	2,371,484
1911	1,761,835		

FINANCES

The following are the receipts and expenses for the twelve months ending September 30, 1916:

RECEIPTS	
Balance on hand September 30, 1915 (\$110,632.39)	
Cash Balance	\$70,132.39
Per capita tax	\$196,447.45
Supplies	11,289.11
Interest on funds on deposit	1,500.00
American Federationist	46,841.63
One-cent assessment	8,920.16
One-cent assessment to organize women workers	17,995.64
Defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions	25,878.56
Disbanded and suspended unions and fees for charters not issued	1,217.04
Reinstatement and initiation fees	23,500.68
Rent collected and paid over to Trustees	200.00
Reimbursement from trustee fund on account of building employees' salaries paid	392.35
Premiums on bonds of officers of affiliated unions	5,092.79
Total	\$334,275.41
	\$404,407.86

EXPENSES	
General	\$221,268.71
Defense fund:	
Local trade and federal labor unions	\$4,615.37
*On account of amount advanced on office building loan	9,500.00
	14,115.37
American Federationist	46,878.82
Premiums on bonds of officers of affiliated unions	4,428.19
One-cent assessment	7,981.56
One-cent assessment to organize women workers	8,989.90
Reinstatement and initiation fees	104.99
Interest paid on A. F. of L. Building Loan	329.16
Money refunded	608.27
Rent collected and paid over to Trustees	200.00
Building employees salaries paid (Trustee Fund)	392.35
Money paid on notes 1 and 2 on account of A. F. of L. Building	5,000.00
Money returned to Defense Fund on account of loan	5,000.00
	\$315,047.32
Cash balance on hand September 30, 1916	\$89,360.48

RECAPITULATION	
In general fund	\$20,209.46
In defense fund for local and federal labor unions	69,151.02
Cash balance on hand September 30, 1916	\$89,360.48
*On account of amount advanced on office building loan from defense fund	45,000.00
Balance on hand September 30, 1916, including building loan	\$134,360.48

THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

DIRECTORY A. F. OF L.

HEADQUARTERS, A. F. OF L. BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D. C.

OFFICERS OF THE FEDERATION

President — Samuel Gompers.

Vice-Presidents — James Duncan, James O'Connell, Joseph F. Valentine, John R. Alpine, H. B. Perham, Frank Duffy, William Green and W. D. Mahon.

Treasurer — John Tobin.

Secretary — Frank Morrison.

NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS

Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and Sec., Thomas J. McNamara, 2516 Slattery Street, St. Louis, Mo.
Bakery and Confectionery Workers, International Union of America. Charles Ifland, Bush Temple of Music, Chicago, Ill.
Barbers, International Union, Journeymen. Sec., Jacob Fischer, 223 E. Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Ind.
Bill Posters & Billers of America, International Alliance of. William McCarthy, 1482-90 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
Blacksmiths, International Brotherhood of. Sec., Wm. F. Kramer, 608 S. Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.
Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders of America, Brotherhood of. Sec., F. P. Reinemeyer, Law Building, Kansas City, Kan.
Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of. Walter N. Reddick, 223 E. Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Ind.
Boot and Shoe Workers Union. Sec., C. L. Blaine, 246 Summer St. Boston, Mass.
Brewery Workmen, International Union of the United. Sec., Adam Huebner, 2847-49-51 Vine St., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Bricklayers, Masons & Plasterers International Union of America. Sec., William Dobson, University Park Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.
Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers Alliance, International. Sec. William Van Bodegraven, 481 S. Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association of. Sec., Harry Lones, American Central Life Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.
Broom and Whisk Makers Union, International. Sec., Will R. Boyer, 851 King Place, Chicago, Ill.
Brushmakers International Union. Sec., George J. Vitzthun, 2052 Gates Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Carmen of America, Brotherhood of Railway. Sec., E. William Weeks, Hall Bldg., Kansas City, Mo.
Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of. Frank Duffy, Carpenters' Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.
Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers of North America, International Union of. Sec., William P. Mavell, 41 Lewis Block, Buffalo, N. Y.
Carvers Association of North America, International Wood. Thomas J. Lodge 10 Carlisle St., Roxbury, Mass.
Cigarmakers International Union of America. Pres., George W. Perkins, Monon Bldg., Chicago, Ill.
Clerks, National Federation of Post Office. Sec., Thomas F. Flaherty, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway. Sec., W. V. H. Bright, Second National Bank Bldg., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway Postal. Sec., Carl Freeman, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Clerks International Protective Association, Retail. Sec., H. J. Conway, Lock Drawer 248, Lafayette, Ind.
Compressed Air and Foundation Workers Union of the United States and Canada, International. Henry Kuhlman, 304 Rodney St., Brooklyn, N. Y.

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- Coopers'* International Union of North America. Sec., William R. Deal, Bishop Building, Kansas City, Kan.
- Cutting Die and Cutter Makers*, International Union of. Sec., William Bondy, 652 Manida St., New York, N. Y.
- Diamond Workers'* Protective Union of America. Pres., Andries Meyer, 825 Washington Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
- Electrical Workers of America*, International Brotherhood of. Sec. Charles P. Ford, Reich Bldg., Springfield, Ill.
- Elevator Constructors*, International Union of. Sec., Frank J. Schneider, Perry Bldg., 18th & Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa.
- Engineers*, International Union of Steam and Operating. Sec., Jas. G. Hannahan, 6334 Yale Ave., Chicago, Ill.
- Engravers'* Union of North America, International Photo. Sec., Louis A. Schwartz, 5609 Germantown Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.
- Firemen*, International Brotherhood of Stationary. Sec., C. L. Shamp, 3615 N. 24th Street, Omaha, Neb.
- Foundry Employees*, International Brotherhood of. Sec., Geo. Bechtold, 810 Chestnut St., St. Louis, Mo.
- Fur Workers'* Union of the United States and Canada, International. Sec., Andrew Wennica, 1181 Broadway, New York.
- Garment Workers of America*, United. Sec., B. A. Larger, Bible House, New York.
- Garment Workers'* Union, International Ladies'. Sec., Abe Baroff, 32 Union Square, New York.
- Glass Bottle Blowers'* Association of the United States and Canada. Sec., Harry Jenkins, Witherspoon Bldg., Juniper and Walnut Streets, Philadelphia, Pa.
- Glass Workers'* Union, American Flint. Sec., Charles J. Shipman, Ohio Bldg., Toledo, Ohio.
- Glove Workers'* Union of America, International. Sec., Elizabeth Christman, 139 North Clark St., Chicago, Ill.
- Granite Cutters'* International Association of America, The. Pres., James Duncan, Hancock Bldg., Quincy, Mass.
- Grinders' and Finishers'* National Union Pocket Knife Blade. F. A. Didsbury, 508 Brook Street, Bridgeport, Conn.
- Hat and Cap Makers' of North America*, United Cloth. Sec., Max Zuckerman, 62 East 4th St., New York, N. Y.
- Hatters of North America*, United. Sec., Martin Lawlor, Bible House, New York, N. Y.
- Hod Carriers*, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, International. Sec., A. Persion, 82 State St., Albany, N. Y.
- Horseshoers of the United States and Canada*, International Union of Journeymen. Sec. Hubert S. Marshall, Second National Bank Bldg., Cincinnati, Ohio.
- Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America*. Sec., Jere L. Sullivan, Commercial Tribune Bldg., Cincinnati, Ohio.
- Iron, Steel and Tin Workers*, Amalgamated Association of. Sec., M. F. Tighe, House Bldg., Smithfield and Water Sts., Pittsburgh, Pa.
- Jewelry Workers'* Union of America, International. Sec., Abraham Greenstein, 93 Nassau Street, New York, N. Y.
- Lace Operatives of America*, The Chartered Society of Amalgamated. David L. Gould, 645 West Lehigh Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.
- Lathers*, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal. Sec., Ralph V. Brandt, Superior Bldg., Cleveland, Ohio.
- Laundry Workers'* International Union. Sec., Harry L. Morrison, Box 11; Station 1, Troy, N. Y.
- Leather Workers on Horse Goods*, United Brotherhood of. Sec., J. J. Pfeiffer, Postal Bldg., Kansas City, Mo.
- Lithographers'* International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada. Sec., James M. O'Connor, 309 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
- Longshoremen's Association*, International. Sec., John J. Joyce, Brisbane Bldg., Buffalo, N. Y.

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Machinists, International Association of. Sec., George Preston, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Maintenance of Way Employees, International Brotherhood of. Sec., George Seal, 27 Putnam Ave., Detroit, Mich.
Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, International Association of. Pres., Stephen C. Hogan, 406 E. 149th St., New York, N. Y.
Masters, Mates and Pilots, American Association of. M. D. Tenniswood, 808 Vine Street, Camden, N. J.
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated. Sec., Homer D. Call, May Ave., Syracuse, N. Y.
Metal Workers' International Alliance, Amalgamated Sheet. Sec., John E. Bray, 407 Nelson Bldg., Kansas City, Mo.
Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers International Union of. Sec., Ernest Mills, Denham Bldg., Denver, Colorado.
Mine Workers of America, United. Sec., William Green, Merchants' Bank Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.
Molders' Union of North America, International. Victor Kleiber, 530 Walnut St., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Musicians, American Federation of. Sec., Owen Miller, 8535 Pine St., St. Louis, Mo.
Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of. Sec., J. C. Skemp, Drawer 99, Lafayette, Ind.
Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of. Pres., J. T. Carey, 137 North Pearl St., Albany, N. Y.
Pattern Makers' League of North America. Pres., James Wilson, Second National Bank Bldg., Cincinnati, O.
Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters, International Union of. Edward I. Hannah, 249 E. 57th St., New York.
Paving Cutters' Union of the United States of America and Canada. Carl Bergstrom, Lock Box 27, Albion, N. Y.
Piano and Organ Workers' Union of America, International. Pres., Charles Dold, 166 West Washington St., Chicago, Ill.
Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative. Sec., T. A. Scully, Castell Bldg., Middletown, Ohio.
Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United States and Canada, United Association of. Sec., Thomas E. Burke, Bush Temple of Music, Chicago, Ill.
Polishers', Buffers', Platers', Brass and Silver Workers' Metal, Union of North America. Sec., Charles R. Atherton, Neave Bldg., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative. Sec., John T. Wood, Box 6, East Liverpool, Ohio.
Powder and High Explosives Workers of America, United. Sec., H. A. Ellis, 503 South Minnesota Ave., Columbus, Kansas.
Print Cutters' Association of America, National. Richard H. Scheller, 108 Washington St., Lodi, N. J.
Printers and Color Mixers of the United States, National Association of Machine. P. E. Lyons, 334 Trenton Ave., Buffalo, N. Y.
Printers' Union of North America, International Steel and Copper Plate, James E. Goodyear, 1236 Brown St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of North America, International. Sec., Joseph C. Orr, Rogersville, Tenn.
Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of. Pres., John P. Burke, P. O. Drawer K, Fort Edward, N. Y.
Quarry Workers' International Union of North America. Sec., Fred W. Sutor, Scampini Bldg., Barre, Vt.
Railway Employees of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric. Pres., W. D. Mahon, 104 E. High Street, Detroit, Mich.
Roofers, Composition, Damp and Waterproof Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of. Sec., D. J. Ganley, 14 N. Oxford St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Roofers' Union of America, International Slate and Tile. Sec., Joseph M. Gavlek, 8843 W. 47th Street, Cleveland, Ohio.

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- Saw Smiths'* National Union. Sec., Frank A. Ryan, 5624 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind.
- Seamen's* Union of America, International. Sec., Thomas A. Hanson, 832 W. Randolph St., Chicago, Ill.
- Signalmen* of America, Brotherhood of Railroad. Sec., W. J. Pettit, La Salette, Ontario, Canada.
- Spinners'* International Union. Urban Fleming, 188 Lyman St., Holyoke, Mass.
- Stage Employes* of America, International Alliance of Theatrical. Sec., M. A. Carney, 107 West 46th St., New York, N. Y.
- Steam Shovel* and Dredge Men, International Brotherhood of. Sec., E. M. Foley, Fort Dearborn Bldg., Chicago, Ill.
- Stereotypers'* and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International. Sec., Charles A. Sumner, 3110 Olive St., Kansas City, Mo.
- Stonecutters'* Association of North America, Journeymen. Sec., Walter W. Drayer, American Central Life Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
- Stove Mounters'* International Union. Sec., Frank Grimshaw, 1210 Jefferson Avenue East, Detroit, Mich.
- Swichmen's* Union of North America. Sec., M. R. Welch, Brisbane Bldg., Buffalo, N. Y.
- Tailors'* Union of America, Journeymen. Sec., Thos. Sweeney, cor. E. 67th St., and Stony Island Ave., Chicago, Ill.
- Teachers'*, American Federation of. Margaret Snodgrass, 1061 Dakin St., Chicago, Ill.
- Teamsters'*, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of. Sec., Thomas L. Hughes, 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind.
- Telegraphers'*, Order of Railroad. Sec., L. W. Quick, Star Bldg., St. Louis, Mo.
- Telegraphers'* Union of America, The Commercial. Sec., Wesley Russell, Monon Bldg., Chicago, Ill.
- Textile Workers* of America, United. Sec., Sarah A. Conboy, Bible House, New York, N. Y.
- Tile Layers'* and Helpers' International Union, Ceramic, Mosaic, and Encaustic. Sec., James P. Reynolds, Martin Bldg., 119 Federal St., N. S., Pittsburgh, Pa.
- Tip Printers'*, International Brotherhood of. Pres., Herman Wolfman, 968 Seneca Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.
- Tobacco Workers'* International Union. Sec., E. Lewis Evans, Iroquois Life Bldg., Louisville, Ky.
- Transferrers'* Association of America, The Steel Plate. Sec., H. Wilbur Hoagland, 88 S. 10th Ave., Mt. Vernon, N. Y.
- Travelers'* Goods and Leather Novelty Workers' International Union of America. Sec., Murt Malone, 191 Boyd St., Oshkosh, Wis.
- Tunnel and Subway Constructors'* International Union. Sec., Michael Carraher, 206-208 E. 128th St., New York, N. Y.
- Typographical Union*, International. Sec., J. W. Hayes, Newton Claypool Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.
- Upholsters'* International Union of North America. Pres., James H. Hatch, Box 10, Station Y, New York, N. Y.
- Weavers'* Amalgamated Association, Elastic Goring. Sec., Alfred Houghton, 50 Cherry St., Brockton, Mass.
- Weavers'* Union of America, International Shingle. Sec., Wm. H. Reid, 202 Maynard Bldg., Seattle, Wash.
- Weavers'* Protective Association, American Wire. Sec., E. E. Desmond, 99 7th St., Harrison, N. J.
- White Rats Actors'* Union of America. Sec., Harry Mountford, 227-81 W. 46th St., New York, N. Y.

UNAFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS

The following labor organizations are not affiliated with the A. F. of L. but maintain friendly relations with the Federation:
 Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, Jefferson Bldg., Peoria, Ill.

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Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, B. of L. E. Bldg., Cleveland, O.
Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, American Trust Bldg., Cleveland, O.
Order of Railway Conductors of America, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.
National Window Glass Workers, 419 Electric Bldg., Cleveland, O.

THE NATIONAL WOMEN'S TRADE UNION LEAGUE OF AMERICA

PLATFORM

1. Organization of all workers into trade unions.
2. Equal pay for equal work.
3. The eight-hour day.
4. A living wage.
5. Full citizenship for women.

ORGANIZATION AND AFFILIATION

The founding of the National Women's Trade Union League of America in 1903 marked a new stage in the trade organization of women. It has grown in numbers and influence. It now has headquarters in Chicago and branches for local work in New York, Chicago, Springfield (Ill.), Boston, Worcester (Mass.), St. Louis, Baltimore, Denver, Philadelphia, Kansas City (Mo.), and Los Angeles.

The Women's Trade Union League is endorsed by the American Federation of Labor, and the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada and is represented at their conventions by a fraternal delegate. It receives moral and financial assistance from the American Federation of Labor, and from international and local unions in many trades. It has held six biennial conventions, the last in Kansas City in 1917.

The League was the prime mover in obtaining public support for the federal investigation into the conditions of woman and child wage-earners.

It publishes its own magazine, *Life and Labor*, and issues from time to time a great amount of literature on women in industry, their problems and how to handle them.

It conducts a school for training women as active workers in the trade union movement. The need for women organizers is admittedly a crying one, which this school is doing much to fill.

The League claims an affiliated membership of 175,000 women trade unionists, while many thousands of trade union men are also enrolled in its ranks.

The trades of the women members, and the women's locals in active connection with the branch leagues cover such widely varied occupations as bag makers, bakery and confectionery workers, beer bottlers, bindery women, boot and shoe workers, bookkeepers and stenographers, cigar makers, cooks, garment

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workers in many subdivisions, glove workers, hospital attendants, hat trimmers, laundry workers, office cleaners, paper box makers, printers, teachers, telephone operators and waitresses.

Besides locals the organizations affiliated, forty-eight in number, include such large unions as the International Seamen's Union, the United Mine Workers, the Bakery and Confectionery Workers, the International Ladies' Garment Workers, and the American Federation of Musicians; there are also state federations and city central labor bodies.

The League has locally as well as nationally a membership among both individuals and organizations sympathetic with its aims and subscribing to its platform, although not themselves part of the labor movement.

It is impossible to give any idea of the number of women who are organized. A few only of the states make an effort to collect the figures. The ascertaining of this and of many other facts concerning the relation of women to industry is part of the work that will fall to the share of the long-desired Women's Division in the Department of Labor at Washington, as soon as that is created by Congress.

LEAGUE'S ACTIVITY

In their own districts the local leagues play an important part in labor activities as they concern women, whether it be in time of strike, creating public opinion when the workers find all ordinary channels of publicity closed to them, or again, assisting weak organizations to become strong; educationally in maintaining classes and holding meetings; or in the legislative field, where, in cooperation with other groups, they persistently work for suffrage, and such other legislative reforms as will benefit the workers, especially the women workers. But as a federation of women's trade unions, its most important function is to foster unceasingly the spirit of solidarity among the exploited women wage-workers, whether these be doffers in an Eastern textile mill, city waitresses, women in a furniture factory in the Middle West or teachers in Chicago.

Following is a list of strikes in which League organizers have been active, some of which required close attention and the full time of organizers and students:

Women Carpenters, Oskosh, Wis., Bag Makers, New York, Argo Corn Products Workers, Joliet Waist and Dress Makers, Boston, Cable Workers, Perth Amboy, N. J., Canvas Glove Workers, Chicago, Ladies Garment Workers, Chicago, Reed and Rattan Workers, Chicago, International Harvester, Twine Workers, Chicago, Felt Workers, Chicago, Waitresses, Kansas City, Glove Workers, Marinette, Wis., Scrub Women, New York, Waitresses, New York, Metal Workers, Meriden, Conn., Cloak Makers, New York, Waist and Dress Makers, New York, Street Car Men's Strike, New York, Ladies' Garment Workers, Philadelphia, Hosiery Workers, Philadelphia, Silver Workers, Meriden, Conn., Car Workers, Pullman, Ill., Cigar Makers, Philadelphia, Essex Rubber Workers, Trenton, N. J., Neck-

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wear Workers, Boston, Stetson Hat Factory, Philadelphia, Shirt Makers, New York, Shirt Makers, Philadelphia, Ladies Garment Workers, Baltimore, Corset Workers, Worcester, Mass., Women Automobile Accessory Workers, Chicago, Hosiery Workers, Cumberland, Md., Artificial Flower and Feather Workers, New York.

The local leagues have taken part in the movement to standardize working hours, through interstate cooperation; the aim being to establish the eight-hour day, or to come near it, in as many states as possible at the same time, so as to minimize the opposition, based upon interstate competition of manufacturing interests.

The conditions brought about by the war are taking women more and more into the wage-earning occupations, and this will surely bring home to the whole labor movement the need of putting far more money, time and energy than it has hitherto done, into the work of educating women, of organizing them, and of insisting upon their being paid the same wages as men.

The League has taken an active part in the struggle to maintain industrial standards, whether these depend upon organization or legislation, and also to ensure the appointment of trade union women upon such bodies, whether state or national, as deal with industrial conditions, especially such newly created bodies as are handling the unusual situation with which we are faced owing to the United States having entered the war.

Mabel Gillespie, secretary of the Boston League, has for some years been a member of the Minimum Wage Commission of Massachusetts.

Recent appointments are: Agnes Nestor of the Glove Workers' Union on the Woman's Defense Committee of the Council of National Defense; Melinda Scott, Hat Trimmers' Union, on the Industrial Council of the State of New York, an advisory committee of the Industrial Commission; trade union women on the "Committee on Women in Industry," a sub-committee of the Committee on Labor, of which Mr. Samuel Gompers is chairman; Mrs. Raymond Robins, chairman of the Committee on Women and Children in Industry, Illinois Division, of the Women's Defense Committee of the Council of National Defense.

The Sixth Biennial Convention of the National Women's Trade Union League was held in Kansas City, Missouri, June 4-9, 1917, and was attended by about sixty delegates. The events of the last two years served to introduce a different note. Apart from the steady work for organization reported upon by the local Leagues, the subjects that drew out the deepest interest were connected with the international interests of the workers, and resolutions were passed bearing upon peace, upon the maintenance of labor standards and the protection especially of women workers in time of war, also for the necessity of having included in the treaties of peace, at the conclusion of the war,

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"labor clauses," to take effect within a definite time, prescribing standards covering conditions of work, the hours of work, and the wages paid, so that the workers may be ensured such elementary rights as the eight-hour day, one day rest in seven, no child labor, the abolition of night work for women, a living wage in proportion to the cost of living in each country, and equal pay for equal work. This last movement, to standardize the claims of labor in all countries, has grown out of the efforts of a group of French workers, headed by Madame Duchene of Paris, who sent a report to the Convention.

Alice Henry.

STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1916¹

The disturbances for the year do not seem to have been confined to any district or industry. Ten per cent. of the strikes occurred in New York City, where upward of 300,000 persons were involved. Of these, several strikes involving large numbers of garment workers occurred during the year as follows: Children's dressmakers, in January; embroidery workers and needleworkers, in February; tailors, in March; ladies' garment workers, in May; men's clothing workers, in August; garment workers, in October; and men's and boys' clothing workers, in December. Strikes of painters and carpenters occurred in April; hod carriers, in October; and button workers, in March. The New York street-railway strike that occurred during the fall was accompanied by several sympathetic strikes. Other New York strikes that attracted attention were those of the paper-box makers in August; machinists, in March; metal workers, in June; ironworkers, in May; barbers, in September; insurance agents, in July; grocery clerks, in September, longshoremen, in May; jewelry workers, in March; cigarette makers, in September; brickmakers, in May; sugar refiners, in January; and waiters, in March.

In New Jersey several important strikes occurred in the vicinity of New York City: Those of the embroidery workers in Hudson County, in February; the machinists of Newark, in June; oil refiners of Bayonne, in October; and the can makers at Edgewater, and freight handlers in Jersey City, Hoboken, and Weehawken.

Coal strikes were prevalent throughout the country, involving upward of 350,000 men. Many of those in the anthracite region were in regard to the interpretation of the eight-hour agreement or the price of powder. Seventy-five were of the variety known as "button."

Strikes also occurred in the bituminous region of Pennsyl-

¹ Monthly Review of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, April, 1917, pages 600, 601-607.

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vania, and in West Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky, Kansas, Oklahoma, and Texas. There were also strikes of metal miners in the Morenci district in Arizona and the Messaba range in Minnesota.

In Philadelphia, the strikes of the hat makers in May, the ladies' garment workers in January, the men's clothing workers in February, and the machinists in June, attracted attention, as did the Westinghouse strike in April, and later the street car strikes in Pittsburgh. In Chicago occurred the strikes of a harvester company in April, the building trades in May, and the teamsters in January. Other strikes deserving mention were those of the longshoremen on the Pacific coast from Alaska to San Diego; the culinary workers and ship builders in San Francisco; cigar makers in Chicago, Porto Rico, and Florida; the butchers in Chicago, St. Louis, and Sioux City; the lumber workers in Minnesota and Washington; the building trades in Omaha and St. Louis; the machinists in Milwaukee; textile strikes in various points in Rhode Island; the agricultural laborers in Porto Rico; and the strikes in Youngstown, Ohio.

NUMBER OF STRIKES IN THE LEADING INDUSTRY GROUPS IN WHICH THE LARGEST NUMBER OF STRIKES AND LOCK-OUTS OCCURRED, 1916 AND 1915

Industry	Strikes		Lockouts	
	1916	1915	1916	1915
Metal trades	487	289	14	41
Mining	395	65	3	2
Building trades	348	259	18	28
Textile work	292	93	3	7
Transportation	205	20	4	1
Clothing industries	187	181	5	13
Teaming	94	88	6	3
Baking	65	31	15	33
Iron and steel workers	67	33	...	...
Tobacco industry	59	8	2	1
Stone workers	56	21	2	...
Furniture industry	47	16	2	4
Lumber industry	44	13	...	1
Paper manufacturing	40	14	2	1
Glass manufacturing	39	15	...	2
Rubber workers	34	10	1	1
Meat cutting	32	7	...	2
Leather workers	28	5	...	...
Printing and publishing	23	5	4	8
Shipbuilding	23	...	...	...

PRINCIPAL CAUSES OF STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS, 1916 AND 1915

Matter of Dispute	Strikes		Lockouts	
	1916	1915	1916	1915
For increase of wages	1,081	855	11	12
For decrease of wages	32	97	2	10
Nonpayment of wages	13	10	...	1
Increase of hours	3	8	4	...
Decrease of hours	107	73	2	7
For increase of wages and decrease of hours	374	156	2	3
General conditions	55	37	...	4
Conditions and wages	53	29	2	1
Conditions and hours	3	6

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<i>Matter of Dispute</i>	<i>Strikes</i>		<i>Lockouts</i>	
	1916	1915	1916	1915
Conditions, wages and hours	25	12	...	1
Recognition of the union	257	66	21	17
Recognition and wages	119	28	2	1
Recognition and hours	21	6	1	...
Recognition, wages and hours	68	11	5	1
For organizing .....	...	...	1	12
Discharge of foreman wanted	17	16	...	...
Because of discharge of employes	121	67	5	13
Because of employment of nonunion men	70	55	4	5
In regard to the agreement	38	10	2	...
For a new agreement	35	12	3	...
Discrimination	9	8	...	...
Sympathy	32	16	1	1
Jurisdiction	19	28	...	...
Miscellaneous	116	99	7	29
Not reported	540	215	33	62
Total	8,157	1,420	108	178

RESULTS OF STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS, 1916 AND 1915

<i>Result</i>	<i>Strikes</i>		<i>Lockouts</i>	
	1916	1915	1916	1915
In favor of employers	471	128	21	16
In favor of employes	706	193	16	18
Compromised	542	322	11	28
Employes returned pending arbitration	70	31	3	3
Not reported	171	69	2	...
Total	1,960	743	53	64

DURATION OF STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS

<i>Duration</i>	<i>Strikes</i>		<i>Lockouts</i>		<i>Duration</i>	<i>Strikes</i>		<i>Lockouts</i>	
	1916	1915	1916	1915		1916	1915	1916	1915
Less than 1 day	36	15	...	...	19 to 21 days ..	73	24	1	...
1 day	105	61	...	1	22 to 24 days ..	34	22	1	3
2 days	129	59	2	...	25 to 28 days ..	50	15	1	1
3 days	105	56	1	1	29 to 31 days ..	46	13	...	2
4 days	92	33	1	2	32 to 35 days ..	21	14	...	1
5 days	105	39	1	2	36 to 42 days ..	44	21	2	4
6 days	67	29	3	1	43 to 49 days ..	21	11	2	...
7 days	71	35	2	3	50 to 63 days ..	45	21	...	4
8 days	73	22	1	2	64 to 77 days ..	35	14	1	2
9 days	41	15	2	1	78 to 91 days ..	26	13	1	2
10 days	82	25	2	...	92 to 199 days ..	79	24	12	7
11 days	34	14	1	...	Over 200 days ..	16	15	0	2
12 days	26	7	...	1	Not reported ..	319	69	...	14
13 days	23	13	1	2					
14 days	46	21	3	1					
15 to 18 days ..	116	23	6	5	Total	1,960	743	53	64

MESABA RANGE, MINN.

On June 2, 1916, 15,000 miners on the Mesaba Iron Range in Minnesota went out on strike. They demanded:

1. An eight-hour day.
2. A minimum wage of \$3 in the underground mines and \$3.50 in the underground wet places and \$2.75 on the surface.
3. Abolition of the contract labor system.
4. Pay day twice a month.

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After the strike was well under way, Carlo Tresca, the well-known I. W. W. leader, came by invitation to help in organizing and carrying on the strike. From the beginning the forces of the state and county government were arrayed against the strikers. Sheriff Meining of Duluth swore in, as deputies, 1,000 mine guards, without having first investigated their character.

The company refused to treat with the men, even after the intercession of the Federal Mediators.

There was considerable violence during the first stages of the strike. Four men were killed in clashes between miners and deputy sheriffs. On July 3, a mine guard, accompanied by three deputy sheriffs, invaded the home of a striker. In the fight which ensued a deputy sheriff and a bystander were killed. At the time of this affair, which had nothing to do with the strike, but with the serving of a warrant of arrest for the illegal sale of liquor, Carlo Tresca and other strike leaders were seven miles away. Yet a few hours after the murder Tresca and six others were arrested without warrants and carried to the jail at Duluth charged with murder in the first degree.

On August 25 the State Labor Commissioner in a report to Governor Burnquist substantiated practically every charge made by the miners against the company.

"Miners have been exploited by the contract system, cheated, oppressed, forced to give bribes to their mine captains, arrested without warrants, given unfair trials and subjected to 'serious injustices' at the hands of the mine guards and police."

The report goes on to say that strikers' parades have been peaceful; that mine guards have exceeded their legal rights; that the public police departments have exceeded the needs of the situation; and that every shooting affray on the range has occurred on public property. In no case have so-called riots occurred on or even near company property.

On December 17, the murder indictments against Tresca, Scarlett, and Schmidt were dismissed. The other persons implicated, Masenovitch, Cernogovitch and Nikisch, pleaded guilty to manslaughter and received indeterminate sentences. Mrs. Masenovitch and John Orlandich were dismissed as having had no part in the shooting.

The strike was called off on Sept. 17, 1916. While the companies claimed a victory, conditions of work, hours and wages were improved as a result of the strike.

THE NEW YORK CAR STRIKE

The strike on the railway lines of New York City and vicinity during the summer of 1916, had its inception in Yonkers and New Rochelle. The lines connecting these places with New York are part of the Third Avenue system, of which T. W. Whitridge was president. The men were receiving pay at the rate of 26 and 28 cents an hour. They demanded a flat increase of 5

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cents an hour. President Whitridge offered them an increase of 1 and 2 cents an hour. The men then requested arbitration. This was refused. On July 22, the strike was called, under the direction of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America.

Yonkers at the time had a city ordinance, since repealed, which required every prospective motorman to have fifteen days of experience or instruction on the lines of the city. This prevented the use of strike-breakers in the early stages of the struggle. The tie-up of service in the suburbs of New York was for a time complete.

It was inevitable, considering the close connection existing between the city and suburban lines, that the strike should spread to the Greater City. On July 27, the Bronx Trolley lines, also owned by the Third Avenue Company, suspended service. The Bronx car-men organized a local of the Amalgamated. About 1,100, nearly the whole force, walked out. The demands made upon the company were a 5 cent an hour increase in wages, and recognition of the union. The conditions of virtual slavery under which the men worked made their lot all but unbearable. The community was shocked by the stories of inhuman treatment and of oppression that were made public during the strike. Public sympathy was very largely with the strikers, although many people failed to act upon their sympathies and patronized the cars run by strike-breakers.

On July 31 the whole Third Avenue system, including one of its subsidiary lines in Brooklyn, came to a standstill. The great majority of the men joined the Amalgamated and walked out.

The following wage scale was prevalent throughout the New York system at the time of the strike:

Conductors on Electric Lines

First year	25 cents per hour
Second year	26 cents " "
Third year	27 cents " "
Fourth year	27 cents " "
Fifth year and thereafter	28 cents " "

Motormen on Electric Lines

First year	26 cents " "
Second year	27 cents " "
Third year	28 cents " "
Fourth year	28 cents " "
Fifth year and thereafter	29½ cents " "

Conductors on Storage Battery Lines

First year	28½ cents " "
Second year	24 cents " "

Motormen on Storage Battery Lines

First year	25 cents " "
Second year	26 cents " "

Horse Car Lines — Conductors and Drivers

First year	22 cents " "
Second year	28½ cents " "

Strike-breakers in large numbers were imported from other

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cities, and some semblance of service, halting and ineffective, was preserved.

On August 4, the strike spread to the New York Railways Company's lines of which Theodore Shonts is president. The only line not affected by the strike at this time was the Second Avenue line, familiarly known as the "blue road." The tie-up of the city was now almost complete. The Interborough and the New York Railways Company tried to forestall a strike by granting a small increase in pay. This was ineffective so far as the New York Railways Company was concerned, because the men insisted upon the right to organize.

The employees of the Interborough Railways Company made substantially the same demands as those set by the surface car workers. This was on August 7. The time set for a strike in case the demands were refused was August 9.

The interference with the carrying on of business was so great that Oscar Straus, chairman of the Public Service Commission, called a conference at which the men were represented by William D. Mahon, President of the Amalgamated, and General Organizer Fitzgerald. Shonts and Attorney James L. Quackenbush represented the companies. By April 9 a decision was reached. The terms of the agreement were as follows:

1. The right of the men to organize was admitted (although this did not mean the recognition of the Amalgamated).

2. The question of wages and working conditions was to be taken up not later than August 20 by a committee of the employees and the company.

3. If no agreement could be reached in this way the matter was to be submitted to a board of arbitration, one member to be chosen by each party and a third member to be appointed by Mr. Straus.

Immediately after the strike many men joined the union. But the companies interpreted the "right to organize" in their own way, and proceeded to arrange for a "Brotherhood" along the lines pursued by Rockefeller in Colorado. Seventy men who had been active in the strike were not re-admitted, and the men were not permitted to elect their committees without corporation influence.

On August 21 the matter was brought before Mayor Mitchel. It was agreed that all the men, even those convicted of petty charges arising out of the strike, should be reinstated.

On August 25 the employees of the subway and elevated roads presented demands calling for higher wage schedules, shorter hours and the right to organize.

On August 30 it was discovered that ever since the settlement of August 9, the company had been circulating and securing signatures to an agreement which amounted to a binding individual contract between the signer and the company. In so doing the company plainly violated its agreement with the men, grant-

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ing them the right to organize. The wage scale contained in the obnoxious individual contract was in every case lower than that demanded by the men. Coercion, in the form of threats of dismissal, was used to obtain signatures to the contracts.

In September a new strike began, involving this time every line in the boroughs of Manhattan and Bronx. The newspapers made it appear as if the men had violated their agreement, and made the usual appeal to the selfishness of the "public." The stoning of cars, the finding of "dynamite" (later found to be charcoal) in the subway, all served to alienate public sympathy. Strike-breakers were imported in large numbers. But the worst feature of the situation was the fact that many men, having signed the individual contracts, did not go out with the rest. There was considerable violence. Many accidents occurred due largely to inexperienced handling of cars. Service was for weeks very poor. In September and October about half of the normal number of cars were run on the surface lines. The "L" and subway lines were from the first little affected.

Chicago and Boston locals of the Amalgamated contributed heavily to the funds of the strikers, as did the many sympathisers of the men in the city. The New York *Call* particularly carried on an active campaign in favor of the car-men. An attempt to organize a general strike in their favor proved abortive.

In November the situation became hopeless. Service returned nearly to the normal efficiency. Strike-breakers put on uniforms and were recognized as regular employees, the public became accustomed to riding in the cars, and forgot that a strike was on. The strike just fizzled out. It was never declared over, but all the advantage gained in the settlement of August 9 was lost. Some men returned to their work as individuals. Others sought other employment, which was not hard to find in these days of war "prosperity."

Seven men are in jail as the outgrowth of the strike, convicted of attempted dynamiting. Mt. Vernon and Yonkers repealed their anti-scab ordinances. The New York Railways have adopted an out and out anti-union policy, as is borne out by the fact that after the death of Whitridge, Maher, the worst enemy of the carmen's unions, was made president of the Third Avenue Company.

The losses to both sides were tremendous. The companies lost heavily in fares and damages to property. The men lost wages amounting to huge sums.

BAYONNE

On Oct. 9, 1916, 8,000 employes of the Tidewater, Bergen Port, and Standard Oil plants at Bayonne went out on strike. They demanded a 30% increase for all men receiving less than \$3 per day, and 20% increase for those receiving \$3 a day or more.

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These demands were rejected by Superintendent George B. Hennessy, and the strike followed.

The strike was limited to the Lithuanians and Poles working in the mills. The skilled workers, largely Americans and Irish, passed a resolution saying that they had no grievance.

On October 10 a clash between the strikers and the police occurred in which two men were killed and 25 seriously hurt. The strikers declared that the police attacked them without provocation. It is at least certain that all those hurt were either strikers or bystanders. In order to throw suspicion upon the strikers, the police confiscated some old guns used by a Polish Society in military drill. These guns were useless, for no ammunition to fit them is now manufactured.

On the 11th there was a repetition of the disturbances. A woman, leaning out of the window, was killed. Three badly wounded men were taken to a hospital. Many others were slightly wounded. During the day strike-breakers were brought into the city. This was the direct cause of the trouble. The next few days saw repetitions of the disorders and more killings.

During the strike the official authorities of Bayonne did their best to prevent news from reaching the outside world. They tried to prevent strike leaders from Bay Way or Jersey City from entering the town. In fact any one who was suspected of being an "agitator" was kept out of the town.

At a meeting on October 16, arbitration was suggested. The strikers decided to arbitrate all but two things: (1) the strikers had to be taken back without discrimination, (2) no discrimination was to be made against those about to join the union.

Hennessy refused to consider an increase in wages, but agreed to take all the men back. On October 19 the strike committee advised the resumption of work. The men voted to end the strike. Nothing was gained although federal mediators declared that the Company would increase the wages of those earning less than \$3 per day.

Lack of organization beat the strikers. But more effective than anything else, was the violence and thuggery used by the Bayonne police and by the armed guards employed by the Company.

THE STRIKE OF THE WAIST AND WHITE GOODS WORKERS IN CHICAGO

The strike of the Chicago waist, skirt and white goods workers of last spring is an outstanding event in the history of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. It could hardly be measured by the ordinary standards of a strike, for it was far more than that; it was as good a living illustration of the class struggle as was ever encountered in any contest for a better living by workers in the women's garment trades.

The commanding feature of this strike was that the workers,

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90% of them women, were not combatting merely the forces of the organized manufacturers, but also the judiciary and the police powers of the City of Chicago. The judiciary and municipal powers took upon themselves the functions of strike-breaking agencies from the very first day of the strike, when not even the usual excuse of prevention of disorders or destruction of property could have been advanced. It later developed into a series of cold-blooded violations of elementary human rights, carried out by a judge and a police force with singular brutality, in open daylight and in utter disregard of public opinion. Suffice it to say that in a strike which involved at its highest point not more than 3,000 persons, over 1,400 arrests were made, and a great number of fines and jail sentences imposed.

The demands of the workers were forwarded to the employers on February 2, 1917. They included, among other conditions, a request for a forty-eight hours' work week, seven legal holidays, a minimum standard of wages, to correspond approximately to the scales prevailing in the same trades in New York, Boston and Philadelphia, sanitary conditions in the shops and the introduction of the principle of collective bargaining and the mutual adjustment of grievances on the basis of a preferential union shop in the industry.

When the strike was called on February 14, after the employers had refused to meet the union in conference, about 75% of the workers answered the call, and within a day all the shops were practically cleared. Soon, however, the blow of the judiciary fell upon the strikers. Judges Smith and Baldwin issued injunctions against the women strikers which were even more sweeping in their nature than the celebrated injunction, for the violation of which Eugene V. Debs was sent to Cook County Jail for six months during the now historic American Railway Union strike in 1894. The strikers were not permitted even to pass the streets adjacent to those where the factories were located; they were enjoined from getting into communication with any of the workers who were taking their places in the struck shops, either by word of mouth or in writing,—not even by telephone. Anything and everything that was done by the girls in the slightest variation from these arbitrary orders was construed by the judges as contempt of court. The jail sentences ranged from ten days to six months, and for weeks the court of Judge Baldwin was the scene of daily compulsory mass-appearances of arrested strikers and their leaders, where they were obliged to listen to lectures from the bench and to endless examinations, which sorely tried their resources and energies.

The striking waist and dressmakers had the undivided support of the Chicago labor movement in this conflict, given to them in a loyal and unstinted manner. The Chicago Federation of

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Labor, the Women's Trade Union League, and particularly President Fitzpatrick and Secretary Nockles, of the Chicago Federation, labored hard and did their best to insure the success of the fight. President Steven Summers, of the Milk Drivers' Union, received a seventy days' jail sentence from Judge Baldwin for his aid in the strike. The lawyers for the organization, Darrow and Sissman, worked loyally and incessantly during the strike, striving to combat to the best of their powers the influences that were working against the strikers.

Towards the end of the strike the International Union sought to bring to the aid of the girl strikers the Federal Labor Department, which sent a representative to Chicago to try to bring both parties together. These efforts, however, failed entirely.

On Saturday, April 21st, at a general mass meeting of the strikers, the fight was called off. The wonderfully devoted girls and men who had fought valiantly for over nine weeks for more bread and rest, wept like children, but this was about the only prudent step that could have been taken, as the busy season in the trade, which was lost alike for the manufacturers as well as the workers, was at an end.

The fight of the Chicago waist and dress workers, which was battered down by the injunctions of the judges, has, however, brought the desired results. It has proved to the employers that there is a limit to everything, even to the workers' patience, and no doubt the strike, the injunctions, the lawyers, the hired detectives and false witnesses have cost the manufacturers tens of thousands of dollars. The strike has cost many of them more than their business will bring them during the next several years.

The workers have come out of the strike even more loyal and devoted to the union than ever. After several months have elapsed, the local organization, Local No. 100, is at present stronger than ever. The next strike, of which the workers are again talking with courage and enthusiasm, is bound to be far better prepared and organized, and the employers who were led to believe that they had crushed the union spirit among their workers with the help of injunctions and jail sentences, see already that they did not reckon with the power of organized labor.

The strike was led by President Schlesinger, of the International Union, and by Vice-President S. Seidman, of Chicago. During the strike Seidman was sentenced to seventy days in jail and President Schlesinger was constantly harassed and kept under bonds and under suspended sentence.

THE BISBEE DEPORTATION

On July 10 twelve hundred men connected with the strike of the copper miners in the Globe-Miami district in Arizona, were

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rounded up by a "vigilance committee" organized by the business men of Bisbee, and deported from that town into the desert. At the same time a concerted movement against the I. W. W. developed throughout the Southwest. Eastern papers, notably the *New York Times* and the *New York Tribune*, made it appear that the 1200 deported strikers were all I. W. W. adherents, and that they were all engaged in a conspiracy to defeat the war-aims of the United States. For this reason they condemned those men without a hearing, and extolled the "patriotic action" of the "law and order" committee.

A careful investigation of the situation carried on by a committee of the Arizona A. F. of L., consisting of Bert Davis, E. T. McCoy, P. M. Vargas, John Murray, P. W. Galentine and Thomas J. Croaff, disclosed the fact that most of the deported men were not members of the I. W. W. but of the A. F. of L. This committee met with great opposition in its investigation, being forcibly kept out of Bisbee.

State Attorney General Wiley E. Jones attempted to enforce state law in Bisbee, but was told by the Vigilance Committee that the deportation would not cease. He requested the aid of the state militia. This was granted, but the situation did not improve.

On July 28 at a secret meeting, the delegates of the Business Men's Protective Association met at Bisbee and organized the State Loyalty League. The object of the League was the crushing of all labor unions in Arizona. All workingmen and working women were to be enrolled in the League under penalty of discharge and expulsion from the state. The real aim of the League was to be covered by "patriotism."

When the Arizona A. F. of L. discovered that the State government was too weak to enforce its own laws, it sent John Murray and Richard C. Rigg to Washington to lay the matter before President Wilson. The latter referred the matter to Secretary of War Baker, to the Council of National Defense, and to the Advisory Commission.

On September 18 the President appointed a commission consisting of William B. Wilson, Secretary of Labor; Col. J. L. Spangler, Verner Z. Reed, John H. Walker, and E. P. Marsh, to visit Arizona and other states that had had labor disturbances. The duty of the Commission was to be investigation of conditions and the adjusting, as far as possible, of labor differences, at least for the duration of the war.

THE MOONEY CASE

On Saturday, July 22, 1916, San Francisco held a "Preparedness" Parade. At 2.06 p. m., while the parade was in progress, a bomb exploded at the corners of Stewart and Market streets.

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Eight or ten people, bystanders all of them, were killed and some others were wounded. Eye witnesses testified that they had seen an object thrown from the roof of a building at this corner, and that the explosion resulted immediately thereafter. The police began at once to search for the person who had thrown the bomb. Two hours after the explosion this search ended. A private detective, one Martin Swanson, who had previously been employed by the street-railway interests, appeared on the scene and took over the search. Testimony at the trials growing out of the crime brought out the fact that after the entrance of Swanson into the case, the police search came to an end. Swanson at once fixed the crime on Tom Mooney, a member of the International Molders' Union and a labor agitator who had been active in organizing the street railway workers. Swanson had previously tried to suborn the testimony of one Israel Weinberg, an officer of the Jitney-bus Drivers' Union, to convict Mooney of complicity in the dynamiting of some railway towers in San Mateo County. Weinberg had refused to commit perjury and had been threatened with the loss of his license. Swanson made no investigation in his attempt to connect Mooney with the crime. He merely made the accusation against Mooney, Mrs. Mooney, Weinberg, and Billings, a member of the Machinists' Union, who had previously been convicted of carrying dynamite. He alleged that a conspiracy existed to kill the President of the United States, the governor of California and others; that this crime of July 22 was the beginning of a long series of similar crimes; that this plot was formed by Mooney and the others in carrying out their "anarchistic doctrines."

District Attorney Fickert behaved in a very suspicious manner throughout the conduct of the case. He permitted the destruction of evidence. The damage done by the bomb was increased by the use of crowbars. Pictures that were of vital importance to the defense were withheld, and when finally turned over by court order, were made blurred because they had been taken and retaken five or six times, and printed from a blurred negative. He held the prisoners "incommunicado," not permitting them even to see counsel for a time. He intimidated the prisoners and tried to secure "confessions" from them, alleging that their "accomplices" had confessed.

The case of Billings came to trial first. He was convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment. Mooney's case was the next one called.

For many years San Francisco had been the scene of very bitter conflicts between capital and labor. Capital finally combined in an anti-union war. One of the most persistent and successful opponents of capital, and champions of labor was Thomas Mooney. The removal of Mooney would be a great gain to the anti-labor forces, the so-called "law and order" element organized and led by the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce. It is the firm conviction of Bourke Cockran, the lead-

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tana Vigilantes, and indicate that this organization has been revived to terrorize the working class movement.

Little had been active in the I. W. W. since 1906. He had earned the hatred and enmity of Western capitalists by his fearless work in the interests of labor. He had protested against the Bisbee outrages, and against the war and conscription. His attitude on all these matters led directly to his death. There are in this case no questions of personal enmity. The murder of Frank Little is clearly an incident in the acute class struggle now going on in the West.

United States District Attorney B. K. Wheeler, in whose jurisdiction the murder occurred, called the act of the Vigilantes "unwise." He promised every effort to apprehend the criminals. To date nothing has been done. The murderers of Frank Little are still at large.

HOURS OF LABOR

There can be no doubt of a decided movement in the United States toward a shorter working day. Individual agreements, collective bargaining and legislative enactment have all contributed to this end.

The movement was a distinct part of the reforms urged during the middle half of the nineteenth century. Out of this agitation came the rather general establishment of the ten-hour day in practice and the eight-hour day as an ideal. Since that time the goal has been eight hours.

At first the attainments were decidedly vague, so far as practical results were concerned. The political influence of labor secured legislation in some states, as in New York in 1867, declaring against the "sun to sun" day and enacting that "eight hours of labor, between the rising and setting of the sun, shall be deemed and held to be a legal day's work in all cases of labor and service by the day where there is no contract or agreement to the contrary." But it soon appeared that such laws were but pious wishes for the eight-hour day. Nothing prevented the making of a contract for a longer day and the employers generally were in position to make such an agreement conditional on giving work. In all, sixteen states defined the workday in this indefinite way, seven stipulating ten hours instead of eight.

By a long course of experiment another step in the direction of real regulation was taken. The "require or permit" clauses began to appear and in many cases they were held by the courts to be valid. In accordance with these clauses laborers were not permitted to work and employers could not require service for more than the time designated in the law.

While this movement was developing, other regulations were being established. The first generally effective regulation was

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that of child labor, culminating in the new federal statute. Space forbids a fuller discussion, though it must be said that much remains yet to be done in this line.

Dangerous trades have received special attention in the matter of length of day. Mining, smelting and railroading may be placed first in this group. The completed list would be a long one. In the main the movement may be outlined as follows: industries dangerous to life and limb; industries more obviously dangerous to health; those which experts claim to be dangerous though popularly supposed not to be so; employments related to public utilities and so clothed with a peculiar interest; industries that from their very nature are continuous, the twenty-four hour, seven-day industries; certain trades where organization is so thorough as to enable the unions to secure legislation; and, finally, industries more generally in connection with which scientific knowledge of fatigue is related to more general social welfare.

The most effective legislation has been in connection with the dangerous trades. For work in mines, thirteen states have established the eight-hour day and one other has a ten-hour limit. Of these same states eight extend the restriction to smelters as well.

For railroads the legislation is more complicated. For trainmen there is in the states no definite length of day. Practically all of this legislation establishes a maximum number of hours during which a train operative may be required or permitted to work without rest, and further establishes the number of hours of rest that must intervene before work may be resumed. The number of hours allowed is usually sixteen, though it varies from thirteen to twenty-four. In some cases eight hours and in other cases ten hours of rest are required after such a working period. For telegraph and telephone operators, train dispatchers and signal men there is a legal limit of eight hours in eight states and of nine hours in four other states. Exceptions are made in cases where stations are open only by day, when thirteen hours are allowed. On street railways the restrictions are not so general. One state establishes nine hours to be performed within eleven consecutive hours for men engaged in the actual operation of cars; five other states fix the limit at ten hours within twelve; while five others place the limit at a twelve-hour day.

In public work and in contract work done for the public the regulation is most general. Twenty-four states and three territories provide either by constitutional amendment or by statute for an eight-hour day for all public work, including contract labor on public work.

In other industries nothing approaching uniformity prevails. The list of restrictions is long and varied and no generalizations can be made.

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Of much more than usual importance is the statute of Oregon establishing a general ten-hour day for practically all the labor of the state in mills, factories, and manufacturing establishments. The law has been upheld by the supreme court of the state as well as by the United States Supreme Court.

Regulation of the hours of labor for women has become a generally accepted policy. No less than forty-one states have statutes expressly limiting hours of labor for adult women in a variety of industries. The time established in the several statutes is not uniform. Four states provide an eight-hour day; ten others a nine-hour day; twenty, a ten-hour day; two, an eleven-hour day. Five others have more complex requirements that do not lend themselves readily to classification. In most of these states the time is fixed by statute. In a few it is determined by industrial commissions acting upon statutory authority. Efforts have been made during the year through regional or district conferences led by the Consumers' League and the Women's National Trade Union League to secure a greater degree of uniformity in this class of legislation.

The movement for the shortening of the workday in industry has made progress through other agencies than legislation. Collective bargaining has been producing marked results. No statement can be made that will include all of the truth. Yet so far as the facts are definitely known, the direction of the movement is perfectly evident.

The investigation made by the federal Department of Labor shows a decided tendency toward shorter hours. The facts are doubtless typical. Eleven different groups of occupations were included in the survey, forty-seven important industrial cities in all parts of the country, and 676,571 union workmen. Reducing the facts to index numbers and stating them comparatively it appears that between 1907 and 1915 there was a decrease of three per cent. in the full-time hours per week. As the data do not cover a period later than the first of May, 1915, the change cannot be assigned to war activity. The report further shows that the decrease during the entire period was very gradual, remaining at 100 for the first two years, at 99 for the next two years, at 98 for the next three, and at 97 for the last two. (U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin No. 194, p. 21.)

During the period since the outbreak of the war there can be no doubt that hours of labor have been shortened. Yet estimates only can be made of the extent of the movement. An inquiry published in the *Survey* (April 1, 1916), reaches the conclusion that during the first eighteen months of the war more than 100,000 laborers were placed on an eight-hour day. A later investigation (the *Survey*, January 6, 1917), shows still further progress. Not less than 400,000 more workers have been added to the list of those who have had the hours of labor materially shortened. All of these results come directly, not from

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legislative restriction, but from the activities of collective bargaining.

Second only in importance to the actual results is the momentum of the movement. It is quite evident that the force has not yet spent itself. President Wilson voices a wide-spread opinion in his statement that "the eight-hour day now undoubtedly has the sanction of the judgment of society in its favor." Typical of the opinion of many employers is the statement, "Sooner or later the eight-hour day will be universal." Mr. Henry Ford is not alone in his conclusions based on experiment in his own plant, that the eight-hour day is more productive than a longer time. Evidence gathered from a wide variety of sources shows that while in many instances the hours have been shortened because of strikes that have been especially embarrassing at the time, this has not been the only reason for the movement. Many employers have shortened the day through anticipation of such trouble. Still others, and not by any means a small number, have reduced hours for both organized and unorganized employes, the action being quite voluntary on their part and in the belief that the shorter day was better in all respects. "The eight-hour day has arrived," says one. "While the system is not entirely satisfactory as far as the efficiency of our plant is concerned, it seems to be in keeping with the times and the age," says another. "Our reasons," replies another, "were simply that the time has come for the eight-hour day, and it is long enough for anyone to work." Yet another declares that "Those who oppose the new spirit that is springing up between employers and employes will soon find the results of their futile opposition recorded on the wrong side of their ledger." Again it is summed up in the statement, "It was felt by the directors to be wise business policy." Such are a few of the straws that indicate beyond question which way the wind is blowing.

With the return of peace, it is perhaps idle to conjecture what will happen. So far as industrial forces again become determinative, it seems reasonable to expect that there will not be a return to a work day longer than ten hours, and that eight hours will continue to be a recognized standard.

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FATIGUE AND DURATION OF LABOR

If an individual continues to work for a considerable time, his power to work is diminished; in other words, fatigue sets in. Fatigue is due largely to the fact that poisonous substances are produced within the body during work and react upon the bodily tissues to diminish their working power. If the body can rest and sleep, it can eliminate the poisonous fatigue substances and no harm is done. If, however, rest and sleep are

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not sufficient to rid the body of the poisonous substances, simple fatigue may pass into a serious condition. In extreme fatigue the body is susceptible to disease, the will may be weakened, resistance to immoral temptations may be lessened, and intemperance and even crime may follow.

Fatigue is one of the most vital problems of labor. It is to the advantage of both employer and worker that the fatigue of the day's and the week's work shall not be excessive. Many devices for avoiding fatigue are now being introduced: Unnecessary muscular motions are being eliminated; workers may sit instead of stand; resting periods are introduced; and work rooms are lighted and ventilated better than they were. Notwithstanding such improvements, the conditions of modern labor are often intensely productive of fatigue. Fatigue depends largely upon the intensity and the rapidity of repetition of the actions performed by the worker. Labor-saving machinery has in many cases diminished the intensity of his muscular actions, but has usually increased their rapidity and constancy.

It is obvious that if, under any given conditions of labor, the working day is of such a length as to bring about excessive fatigue, it should be shortened. Experience shows that shortening the working day often results in improved health of the workers and marked moral and social improvement, such as is shown by decrease in intemperance and crime, improvement in living conditions, greater efforts toward education, greater intelligence, and greater industrial efficiency. There is also abundant evidence to show that upon reduction of the working day from twelve to ten and even to eight hours, the output of the individual worker is increased. The notion that the longer working day means more accomplished is a fallacy. In thus being disadvantageous to both employer and worker the long working period defeats its own object.

The fact that the reduction of the working period to eight hours is almost universally followed by beneficial effects on the worker and a larger output, argues strongly in favor of the idea that such a day approaches the physiological ideal.

But different kinds of work differ greatly in their fatiguing power. Moreover, different workers within any one occupation vary greatly in their susceptibility to fatigue. When we come to know more about these matters, we probably shall find that eight hours is too long for especially fatiguing occupations and especially susceptible workers, and that in other occupations and with other workers more than eight hours is not detrimental. If this be true, there ought to be secured ultimately, not a rigid eight-hour system, but an elastic system in which the work will be adapted to the worker and the worker to the work. Such a solution of the problem of the duration of labor

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is the ideal solution, and it is what is ultimately needed in order to secure the maximum of individual and national efficiency.

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THE EIGHT-HOUR DEMAND OF THE RAILWAY WORKERS

On practically twenty per cent. of the railroad mileage in the United States, the men in train service had succeeded in securing wage agreements that fixed the basis of pay for through freight service on the eight-hour day basis, but did not include a "penalty" overtime rate; that is, on approximately twenty per cent. of the mileage of the railroads, the men were already on an eight-hour basis and were receiving overtime at the regular rate, which did not prevent excessive hours of employment. It was believed, however, that if the remaining eighty per cent. of the railway mileage of the United States could be induced to include the eight-hour basis in through freight service, and all railroads could be induced to extend the eight-hour basis to all classes of service, except passenger service, and if all railroads could be induced to pay "time-and-one-half" for overtime, a much needed relief from excessive hours of employment would be secured by the engineers, conductors, firemen, brakemen and hostlers.

It is true that the opportunity to increase earnings by working many hours during each twenty-four hours has been increased by the larger freight trains and it was known that under the prevailing system, by working twelve to sixteen hours out of the twenty-four, a larger monthly "pay check" could be earned.

This steady increase in the number of hours of work has been the only way in which the railroad employe has been able to keep his total daily wage up to the level at which it was in the days when it was possible to earn his bonus by covering more than ten miles an hour. Every increase in size of freight locomotive and tonnage of freight train has meant that the employe must work longer in order still to earn the same daily wage.

Naturally, strenuous efforts have been made by the employes to change this situation and to secure an increase in the rate of wages an hour so it might be the equal of that in the building or other trades, and that a fair day's wage might be earned without working overtime.

Their only hope was a change from a ten- to an eight-hour basis of pay. As an arbitration board had declined to reduce the locomotive hostler's twelve-hour day to ten hours, and other arbitration boards had refused to increase the rate of pay per hour, there was not much to expect in that direction. So with the expectation of a possible conflict they demanded the substitution of

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the eight-hour for the ten-hour basis in existing wage schedules and an overtime rate of time and one-half.

That what was really demanded was a lessening of hours of work is shown by the fact that in terminal work also, where engineers, conductors, switchmen, firemen, and hostlers are employed entirely on the hourly basis, the demand was the same for an eight-hour day, with time and one-half for any work requiring more than eight hours in a period of twenty-four.

This demand for an eight-hour day meant a reduction in earnings for the large number of men theretofore working more than ten hours a day. Their opportunity to earn more than one day's wage was eliminated through the "penalty" overtime provision, because in terminal work the railroad can always change crews when the eight hours are up, and, naturally, will do so and employ a new crew rather than pay extra overtime rates. The employees sacrificed higher wages in order to get shorter hours.

The cost to the railroads by applying the eight-hour basis to freight service would be apparent only when speed of trains was less than twelve and one-half miles an hour. So long as the average speed (from the time the employees began service until relieved) equalled or exceeded 100 miles to eight hours, the change of basis would cost the railroads nothing and would add nothing to the earnings of employees. In freight service, only when the period of time extended into overtime, would cost to railroads and earnings for the men increase.

It was contended by the employees that when freight trains moved at a speed averaging less than 100 miles for eight hours an injustice was done not only to them but to the public, suffering from what the railroads claimed was a "car-shortage." The eight-hour day in freight service, accompanied with time and one-half for extra work, would, it was claimed, not only reduce the hours worked by the employee but result in more expeditious movement of the public's commodities.

In terminal work, theoretically, it would increase the cost to the railroads 25 per cent. without adding to the earnings of the individual employee. It was assumed by the railroads that where two ten-hour shifts of men are now used with one switching locomotive in a terminal "costing two days' wages, there would be three eight-hour shifts costing three days' wages."

In practice a large majority of switching locomotives would be operated for only two eight-hour shifts—performing all work now done at no additional cost. Where it was necessary to operate a locomotive continuously three eight-hour shifts would be employed, each shift receiving one day's pay. But the three shifts would render four to six hours more service in each twenty-four-hour period than at present, for there would be no intervals between shifts of crews, and the present practice of stopping one hour for meals at midday and midnight would be discontinued.

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CHRONICLE OF EVENTS IN CONNECTION WITH JOINT EIGHT-HOUR MOVEMENT

May 3, 1915.—The Western Joint Committee of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen assembled in Chicago to review the arbitration award, adopted the following resolution:

That it be the sense of this Committee that the Chief Executives of these organizations unite with the Chief Executives of the Order of Railway Conductors and Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen for the purpose of arranging for a concerted movement with the object in view of securing an eight-hour day and time and one-half for overtime. A request of this nature to be submitted to the Managers of the Railroads on May 10, 1916, or as soon thereafter as possible.

November 1, 1915.—The Chief Executives of the four organizations met in Washington, at which time it was decided that the resolutions adopted by the Western, Southern and Eastern districts of the Order of Railway Conductors and Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, instructing the Chief Executives of these two organizations to promptly begin a concerted movement for an eight-hour day and time and one-half for overtime, should be presented to the members of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, and the "Federated Boards" of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, and the "Associations" of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers were summoned to meet at follows:

Eastern District, Cleveland, O., November 15.

Southern District, Washington, D. C., November 22.

Western District, Chicago, Ill., December 10.

These meetings were held as above indicated, at each of which was elected an "Executive Committee" authorized to represent the district at a "Joint Executive Committee" meeting to be later held to draft a proposition in accordance with the outlined instructions.

December 15, 1915.—The Joint Executive Committee convened in Chicago and adopted the following proposition (known as Form 35) to be submitted to the members of all four organizations, through a referendum vote to ascertain from the members if it was their desire at this time to present said proposition to the railway managements:

ARTICLE 1. (a) In all Road Service 100 miles or less, 8 hours or less will constitute a day, except in Passenger Service. Miles in excess of 100 will be paid for at the same rate per mile.

(b) On runs of 100 miles or less overtime will begin at the expiration of 8 hours.

(c) On runs of over 100 miles, overtime will begin when the time on duty exceeds the miles run divided by $12\frac{1}{2}$ miles per hour.

(d) All overtime to be computed on the minute basis and paid for at time and one-half times the pro rata rate.

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(c) No one shall receive less for eight hours or 100 miles, than they now receive for a minimum day or 100 miles for the class of engine used or for service performed.

(f) Time will be computed continuously from time required for duty until released from duty and responsibility at end of day or run.

ART. 2. (a) Eight hours or less will constitute a day in all yards and switching service. The minimum day's pay for 8 hour yards shall not be less than the present day's pay for 10 hour yards. Provided, that in yards having a minimum day of more than 10 hours, the present day's pay as in effect January 1, 1916, will be continued with the eight hour day.

(b) Time to be computed continuously from time required for duty until released from duty and responsibility at end of run. All over 8 hours within any 24 hour period to be computed and paid for at the rate of time and one-half.

(c) All overtime to be computed on the minute basis.

ART. 8. Any rates of pay, including excess mileage or arbitrary differentials that are higher, or any rules or conditions of employment contained in individual schedules in effect, January 1, 1916, that are more favorable to the employees, shall not be modified or affected by any settlement reached in connection with these proposals. The general committee representing the employees on each railroad will determine which is preferable and advise the officers of their company. Nothing in the settlement that may be reached on the above submitted articles is to be construed to deprive the employees on any railroad from retaining their present rules and accepting any rates that may be agreed upon or retaining their present rates and accepting any rules that may be agreed upon.

March 1, 1916.—Referendum vote canvassed and it was found that the above proposition (Form 35) had been adopted by the members employed on every railroad in the United States, a referendum vote of members employed on Canadian roads not having been taken on account of conditions in that country resulting from the European War.

March 30, 1916.—Proposition (Form 35) presented to the general manager or proper official of every railroad in the country by the general chairman, accompanied by a letter containing the following request:

We request that you join with the other railway managements in the United States and enter into a collective movement for the purpose of handling this proposition at one and the same time through a joint committee representing all railroads concerned, and we are instructed to advise you that the organizations stand ready to do likewise.

When presenting the proposition (Form 35) the official was notified that reply in writing would be expected on or before April 29, 1916.

April 27, 1916.—The four chief executives met the representatives of the Managers in the Eastern, Southeastern and Western Associations and arranged for conferences to begin in New York City on June 1, 1916.

June 1, 1916.—Conferences opened with the National Conference Committee of the Railways, consisting of:

Elisha Lee, Chairman; L. W. Baldwin, General Manager, Central of Georgia Railway; E. H. Coapman, Vice-President, Southern Railway; S. E. Cotter, General Manager, Wabash Railroad; P. E. Crowley, Assistant Vice-President, New York Central R. R.; P. R. Albright, General Manager, Atlantic Coast Line; G. H. Emerson, General Manager, Great Northern Rail-

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way; C. H. Ewing, General Manager, Philadelphia and Reading Railway; E. W. Grice, General Superintendent Transportation, C. & O. Ry.; A. S. Grieg, Asst. to Receiver, St. Louis & San Francisco R. R.; C. W. Kouns, General Manager, Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Ry.; H. W. McMaster, General Manager, Wheeling & Lake Erie R. R.; N. D. Maher, Vice President, Norfolk & Western Railway; James Russell, General Manager, Denver and Rio Grande R. R.; A. M. Schoyer, Vice-President, Pennsylvania Lines West; A. J. Stone, Vice President, Erie Railroad; J. W. Higgins; C. P. Neill; J. G. Walber,

and representatives of the organizations, as follows:

A. B. Garretson, President, Order of Railway Conductors; W. S. Stone, Grand Chief Engineer, Brotherhood of Loco. Engineers; W. G. Lee, President, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen; L. E. Sheppard, Senior Vice President, Order of Railway Conductors; Timothy Shea, Assistant President, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, representing W. S. Carter, President, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, who attended subsequent meetings.

The National Conference Committee of the Railways had been authorized to represent 143 railroads, and a great number of subsidiary lines.

June 15, 1916.—Conferences discontinued as the National Conference Committee of the Railways declines to agree to proposition (Form 35) submitted by the employees, or to submit a counter-proposition, other than one similar to that given to general chairmen in reply to notice served on official of each road, the Conference Committee's counter-proposition reading as follows:

The Railroads have no desire to change either the existing rates of pay or the working rules, nor to reduce the earning possibilities of the employees under their existing rules, but inasmuch as your proposals contemplate fundamental changes in operation methods and practices on which the schedules have been built up, this Committee reiterates that in connection with and as a part of the consideration and disposition of your proposals there shall be open for consideration and disposition these provisions in the schedule or practices thereunder governing compensation in the classes of service affected by your proposals or those in conflict with the following principles as they apply to such classes:

- (a) No double compensation for the same time or service.
- (b) The same classification for the purpose of compensation to be applied to all members of a train and engine crew.
- (c) Two or more differently paid classes of service performed in the same day or trip to be paid proportionate rates according to class of service, with not less than a minimum day for the combined service.

Matter was referred to all employees for their decision as to limit of future action.

August 8, 1916.—Conferences resumed with National Conference Committee of the Railways and Conference Committee advised that the percentage vote of each organization in favor of a strike unless a satisfactory settlement could be reached, was as follows:

B. L. E.	89.4
B. L. F. & E.	98.3
O. R. C.	85.4
B. R. T.	96.7

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August 9, 1916.—The National Conference Committee of the Railways proposed appeal to Federal Board of Mediation and Conciliation, which was promptly declined on the part of the employes. The National Conference Committee of the Railways then appealed to Federal Board of Mediation and Conciliation, and conference began with the Board on August 10, 1916. On August 13, 1916, the Employes' Committee declined to submit the eight-hour day and time and one-half for overtime to arbitration, when the Federal Board announced on behalf of the President of the United States that he demanded as his right as President of the Nation, that he be permitted to interview both sides to the controversy before any strike order was issued.

August 14, 1916.—The President held conferences with the National Conference Committee of the Railways and with the Chief Executive and a Sub-Committee of the Employes on August 14th and 15th, at which latter conference he expressed a desire to meet the entire Employes' Committee and arrangements for such meeting were made for August 17, 1916, at 3:00 P. M.

August 17, 1916.—President Wilson submitted the following tentative proposition:

Concession of eight-hour day.

Postponement of the other demand, as to payment for overtime and the counter suggestion of the railway managers until experience actually discloses the consequence of the eight-hour day.

In the meantime, the constitution, by authority of the Congress of a commission or body of men, appointed by the President to observe, investigate and report upon those consequences, without recommendation.

Then such action upon the facts as the parties to the present controversy may think best.

August 18, 1916.—President Wilson was advised that his tentative proposition was acceptable to the Employes' Committee, provided that he could secure the adhesion of the National Conference Committee of the Railways thereto.

August 27, 1916.—The Employes' Committee met daily from August 18 to 27, when it was decided to issue a strike order effective September 4, 1916, as the National Conference Committee of the Railways declined to agree to the President's tentative proposition. The Employes' Committee then left Washington, having vested the Chief Executives and a sub-committee with the power of settlement possessed by the entire committee, with the understanding that any settlement reached before the day fixed for leaving service must establish the eight-hour day with ten hours' pay.

August 29, 1916.—President Wilson appeared before a joint session of the Senate and House of Representatives and addressed Congress on the need for an eight-hour day and other labor legislation.

September 2, 1916.—Congress passed the Adamson Eight-Hour

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Law providing for an eight-hour day with the standard ten-hour day's pay and overtime at a pro rata rate. The Chief Executives telegraphed instructions to all general chairmen cancelling the strike order.

September 19, 1916.—The Chief Executives suggested to the Conference Committee of the Railways a meeting to determine the practical application of the Adamson Eight-Hour Law to agreements now in effect on the various railroads, and on September 30, 1916, were advised by Chairman Lee that there was still considerable doubt as to the meaning of this law, and as soon as it could be determined what the law actually means the request would be submitted to a called meeting of the Committee. While not so stated, it was understood the Conference Committee desired no meeting prior to the Presidential election, as no doubt the attitude of the Railroads would be largely influenced by the result of the election.

November 9, 1916.—The following interpretation of the Adamson Law was prepared by the four Chief Executives preparatory to meeting the National Conference Committee as setting forth their idea as to the application of that law.

In all road service except passenger, where schedules now read "100 miles or less, 9 or 10 hours or less, overtime at 10 or 11 miles per hour," insert 8 hours or less for a basic day and $12\frac{1}{2}$ miles per hour for a speed basis for the purpose of computing overtime. Overtime to be paid for at not less than one-eighth of the daily rate per hour.

In all yard, switching, and hostling service, where schedules now read "10, 11 or 12 hours or less shall constitute a day's work," insert "8 hours or less" shall constitute a day's work. Overtime to be paid for at not less than one-eighth of the daily rate per hour.

In passenger service the present mileage basis will be maintained provided that the basic passenger day will not be in excess of eight consecutive hours. Overtime to be paid for at not less than one-eighth of the daily rate per hour.

November 13, 1916.—The four Chief Executives held conferences with the National Conference Committee of the Railways, but on being advised that all matters pertaining to the Adamson Law had been transferred to the legal department of the railroads, which action was protested and request made that all injunction proceedings be withdrawn in the hope that some agreement might be reached whereby the Adamson Law could be applied without litigation. The Conference Committee would not agree to such a proposition and conferences were discontinued.

Subsequent to this formal meeting, informal conferences were held from time to time with a Sub-Committee of the Conference Committee, but without result.

November 15, 1916.—Before and subsequent to this date a number of injunctions had been applied for by different railroads restraining the Government from putting into effect the Adamson Eight-Hour Law on January 1, 1917.

November 20, 1916.—The Chief Executives met the Attorney

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General of the United States and advised him that the Railway Brotherhoods would not join in fighting injunctions, leaving this matter to the Government, but would be pleased to furnish any information desired.

November 22, 1916.— Decision handed down by Judge William C. Hook, in the United States District Court at Kansas City, Missouri, held the Adamson Law unconstitutional. This decision was in an injunction proceeding brought to restrain the Missouri, Oklahoma & Gulf Railroad from putting into effect the provisions of the Adamson Law, and was intended primarily to expedite an appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States, this particular case having been decided on between the Department of Justice and the Railroads as a test case that would govern all other injunction proceedings instituted by the Railroads.

January 8, 1917.— Hearing of argument on the constitutionality of the Adamson Law before United States Supreme Court held January 8th, 9th and 10th. Walker D. Hines, general counsel for the Santa Fe, and John G. Johnson represented the Railroads, and Solicitor-General John W. Davis and Frank Hagerman represented the Department of Justice.

January 11, 1917.— Joint Committees of the four organizations convened in Chicago, at which meeting it was practically decided to await decision of the Supreme Court not later than March 6, 1917, before taking further action.

March 8, 1917.— The Chief Executives requested meeting with the National Conference Committee of the Railways for March 15.

March 15, 1917.— Conferences between the Chief Executives and the National Conference Committee of the Railways resulted in a deadlock. Conference Committee was officially notified that progressive strikes beginning at 7:00 P. M. Eastern Time, March 17, 1917, would be instituted in the event satisfactory settlement was not previously reached.

March 16, 1917.— President Wilson telegraphed that he would insist upon right to send a mediation commission composed of Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior, W. B. Wilson, Secretary of Labor, Daniel Willard, President of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, and Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, members of the National Council of Defense, to New York to endeavor to bring about an agreement before any strike was precipitated. Mediation Commission conferences began at 9:30 P. M. at the Biltmore Hotel, New York.

March 17, 1917.— No agreement having been reached, and as first group of roads had completed arrangements for leaving the service at 7:00 P. M. Eastern Time, a postponement of the strike set for March 17th and 18th was agreed to at 3:00 P. M., these two groups to leave the service at the same hour Monday, March 19th, together with the third group.

March 19, 1917.— Settlement reached at 5:00 A. M. as follows:

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New York, March 19, 1917.

Settlement awarded by the
Committee of the Council of National Defense.

In all roads service except passenger, where schedules now read "100 miles or less, 9 or 10 hours or less, overtime at 10 or 11 miles per hour," insert "8 hours or less" for a basic day and "12½ miles per hour" for a speed basis; for the purpose of computing overtime. Overtime to be paid for at not less than one-eighth of the daily rate per hour.

In all yard, switching and hosting service, where schedules now read "10, 11 or 12 hours or less shall constitute a day's work" insert "8 hours or less shall constitute a day's work at present ten hours' pay." Overtime to be paid for at not less than one-eighth of the daily rate per hour.

In yards now working on the eight-hour basis, the daily rate shall be the present 10 hour standard rate, with overtime at one-eighth of the present standard daily rate.

In case the law is declared unconstitutional, 8 hours or less at present 10 hours' pay will constitute a day's work in hosting service.

In passenger service the present mileage basis will be maintained on roads now having a flat 10-hour day in passenger service, the rule will be amended to read "8 within 10 hours."

For all classes of employees in short turn-around passenger service, where the rule now reads "8 within 12 hours," it will be amended to read "8 within 10 hours."

For such territory as has no number of hours for a day's work in short turn-around passenger service, the 8 within 10 hour rule applies.

Overtime to be paid for at not less than one-eighth of the daily rate per hour.

The General Committees on individual railroads may elect to retain the present overtime rules in short turn-around passenger service, or the foregoing provisions, but may not make a combination of both to produce greater compensation than is provided in either basis.

In the event the law is held to be constitutional, if the foregoing settlement is inconsistent with the decision of the court, the application will be adjusted to the decision. If declared unconstitutional, the above stands with all the provisions as written.

The foregoing to govern for such roads, classes of employees, and classes of service represented by the National Conference Committee of the Railways.

Schedules except as modified by the above changes remain as at present.

FRANKLIN K. LANE

W. B. WILSON

W. G. LEE, Pres. B. of R. T.

W. S. STONE, G. C. E., B. of L. E.

DANIEL WILLARD

SAMUEL GOMPERS

L. E. SHEPPARD, Actg. Pres. O. R. C.

W. S. CARTER, Pres. B. of L. F. E.

The National Conference Committee of the Railways

By ELISHA LEE, Chairman.

The strike order was immediately recalled.

Subsequent to the foregoing agreement the Supreme Court handed down decision at 12 o'clock noon upholding the constitutionality of the Adamson Law.

W. S. CARTER,
President Bro. of L. F. and E.

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RAILROAD ACCIDENTS¹

	<i>Number employees to</i>	
	<i>1 killed</i>	<i>1 injured</i>
1. United States	421	19
2. Canada	552	118
3. Argentina	928	258
4. Prussia	984	485
5. Hungary	988	496
6. Germany	1,016	431
7. Denmark	1,017	588
8. Sweden	1,031	250
9. France	1,068	517
10. Switzerland	1,071	26
11. Russia	1,180	261
12. United Kingdom	1,351	134
13. Belgium	1,380	113
14. Norway	2,125	340
15. Austria	2,205	160

THE CASE FOR THE INDUSTRIAL FORM OF LABOR ORGANIZATION

An industrial form of organization is the organization of all men employed in an industry into one compact union. Craft unionism means the organization of men employed in their respective crafts resulting in numerous organizations within a particular industry.

The organization of men by industry rather than by crafts brings about a more perfect organization, closer cooperation and tends to develop the highest form of organization. The causes of jurisdictional disputes are considerably decreased and in many industries can be eliminated altogether. The constant friction resulting among craft organizations in their contention for jurisdiction causes the labor movement more trouble and greater inconvenience than any other problem with which it has to deal. When men are organized by industry they can concentrate their economic power more advantageously than when organized into craft unions. The results of such concentration of economic strength are the promotion of their common welfare and the advancement of their common interests.

The United Mine Workers of America is an industrial organization. All men employed in and around the coal mines, regardless of their skill or calling, belong to the United Mine Workers of America. In negotiating a wage scale between the coal operators and coal miners, a schedule of wages is arranged governing all classes of labor, skilled and unskilled, employed in and around the coal mines. By this process the interest of

¹ Ex-Congressman David J. Lewis, Senate Document, No. 90, 62nd Congress.

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the unskilled worker is given as much attention as that of the skilled worker. It is indeed in the fullest sense, a policy of all for each, and each for all. A settlement of the wage scale is not finally reached until the schedules applying to all classes of labor employed in and around the mines, are agreed to.

The advantages of such a form of organization is so obvious that one can scarcely conceive of any opposition thereto. A form of organization that protects the interests of the unskilled worker is the form of organization most desirable. Much complaint has been directed against craft organizations because little regard has been given to the problems of the unskilled workers. It is becoming more and more evident that, if unskilled workers are forced to work long hours and for low wages, the interests and welfare of the skilled worker are constantly menaced thereby.

In the development of industry and organization, the tendency is towards concentration and perfection. This applies to the organization of labor as well as to the organization of industry and capital. Hence the reason why organized labor is gradually passing from craft organization to the more effective industrial form of organization. It may be well nigh impossible to eliminate the craft form of organization in certain lines of industry. However, it is quite possible to establish industrial forms of organization in the railroad industry, the printing industry and in other industries where groups of organizations are formed into councils and federated bodies.

Summing up the situation, some of the advantages resulting from an industrial form of organization, are the reduction of opportunities or causes for jurisdictional disputes; the concentration of economic strength; the blending into harmonious co-operation of all men employed in industry and the advancement and protection of the interests of the unskilled laborer in the same proportion as that of the skilled worker.

WILLIAM GREEN,
Sec'y-Treas. U. M. W. of A.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS

On the evening of May 5, 1888, a number of machinists in the city of Atlanta, Georgia, organized Atlanta Lodge No. 1, with nineteen charter members, naming their organization, "The United Machinists and Mechanical Engineers of America." This organization was brought about mainly through the efforts of Thos. W. Talbot and a few other machinists, among whom were H. F. Garrett, W. L. Dawley and "Mike" Reilly. In a few months lodges had been organized in the states of North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia and Alabama.

On September 10, 1888, a circular letter was sent to machinists

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throughout the country calling attention to the necessity of the machinists organizing, and urging the formation of locals wherever possible. The organization was governed by a General Executive Committee, of which T. W. Talbot was chairman, and W. L. Dawley secretary. The growth of the order was necessarily slow, but in February, 1889, there were twenty-two lodges, with a total membership of more than one thousand, and in this month was issued the first journal, an unpretentious pamphlet consisting of four pages. However, from this four-paged pamphlet has grown the splendid magazine now published. It was decided by the General Executive Committee that a convention be called at Atlanta May 6, 1889. At the time of this convention there were thirty-four lodges in the order, and twenty-two delegates attended the first convention. Fourteen states were represented by lodges and the name of the order was changed to "The National Association of Machinists." T. W. Talbot was elected Grand Master Machinist. Headquarters were established at Atlanta, Ga. However, there were no general offices such as the organization now has; the officers worked at the trade and were scattered throughout the country. Immediately following the first convention many new lodges were formed, and in July, 1889, the second annual convention was held in the city of Louisville, Ky.

In June, 1890, T. W. Talbot found it necessary to relinquish his duties as Grand Master-Machinist and resigned the office. He was succeeded by J. J. Creamer, and headquarters were removed to Richmond, Va., which was Creamer's home. At the close of 1890 there were one hundred and forty-five lodges in the roster. At this time the wages of machinists throughout the country ranged from \$1.75 to \$3.00 per day, \$3.00 being an extremely high rate. Ten hours constituted a day's work and overtime was paid for at the rate of single time.

In May, 1891, the third annual convention was held at Pittsburgh, Pa. The name of the association was changed to "The International Association of Machinists," and a General Executive Board provided for. The members elected to this board were Jas. O'Connell, H. J. Gray, D. Douglas Wilson, J. L. Lamb and Hugh Doran. J. J. Creamer was reelected Grand Master Machinist and W. L. Dawley, secretary. The fourth annual convention was held in Chicago in May, 1892. At the close of the year there were three hundred and thirty-nine lodges on the roster. The beginning of 1893 found the country in the midst of a business depression. The fifth annual convention was held during this year at Indianapolis. In this year was held the Chicago World's Fair, but notwithstanding the great amount of travel to and from the exposition, business continued bad and hundreds of factories closed their doors, banks went down to ruin, thousands of workers were unemployed, and poverty, hunger, and want stalked through the land. The ranks of organized labor

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were decreased, but notwithstanding this the close of the year found the organization with four hundred and twenty-two lodges, a gain of eighty-three since the Chicago convention. No convention was held in the year 1894, it having been decided to hold biennial conventions in the future. The year 1895 found very little improvement in business; in fact, the country was in the midst of a panic which will long be remembered. Very little was accomplished in the way of obtaining better conditions, although the members struggled valiantly to hold what little had been obtained. In this year the sixth convention was held in the city of Cincinnati, Ohio. Steve Glenn was elected Organizer, and during his term of office established many new lodges in this country and Canada. The convention decided to move the headquarters to Chicago, to affiliate with the American Federation of Labor, to institute the referendum, to provide for the annual election of local lodge officers, to adopt monthly reports, and to establish the card and number system. The year closed with conditions worse than at the beginning. Very little had been gained in the way of new lodges during the year, inasmuch as the organization had only four hundred and forty-four lodges in January, 1896.

The year 1897 opened dark and dreary for the workers. In New York, Chicago, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati and other large cities the want and suffering were appalling, and the winter of 1896-97 was the worst ever experienced.

In May, 1897, the seventh convention, held at Kansas City, Mo., abolished the use of the blackball which had been in vogue in the Association up to this time. The present stamp system was adopted. A provision was made for a quarterly dues stamp to cost twenty-five cents, with the idea of building up a fund to provide for a death benefit, and to furnish the journal free of cost to all members in good standing. Loan stamps were also provided for, as at this time members were permitted to borrow amounts from local lodges. Very little was accomplished in the way of bettering conditions during the year 1897, and the year closed with business bad all over the country. The close of 1898 brought some improvement in business which continued as the year of 1899 rolled on. In this year the eighth convention was held at Buffalo, N. Y. The reports of the officers to this convention showed that during the two previous years, thirty-one new lodges had been organized and thirty-eight lodges reorganized. Business conditions were decidedly better and many lodges reported having received an increase in wages and time and a half for overtime. The Buffalo convention enacted laws authorizing the Grand Lodge to pay one-half of the legitimate expense of business agents appointed by the local unions, and also provided for a traveling card. The titles of Grand Master Machinist and Grand Foreman were changed to International President and Vice President. At this convention the General Executive Board was abolished and a Board of Trustees elected. This

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convention ordered headquarters moved to Washington, D. C. During this year occurred the marine strikes of New York City and vicinity and the great strike at the Cramp Ship Yards in Philadelphia. The year closed much brighter than it opened.

In 1900, during which no convention was held, occurred the big strikes in Chicago, Columbus, Ohio, Paterson, N. J., and other cities against the National Metal Trades Association. The situation became so acute that the N. M. T. A. agreed to meet representatives of the International Association of Machinists in order to come to an agreement, if possible, as to a guiding policy for the future, which would be mutually agreeable to both bodies. This conference was generally known as the Murray Hill Conference, inasmuch as the joint arbitration board, brought into existence by what was known as the Chicago agreement, met in the Murray Hill Hotel in New York City, on May 10, 1900. Prior to any matters being taken up for arbitration, the strikes existing in Paterson, N. J., and Cleveland, Ohio, were officially declared off. The result of the conference was that thousands of machinists obtained better working conditions and shorter hours in many cities. In 1901 the first general movement was made by the Association toward reducing the hours of labor. It had been decided by the Association that the nine-hour day must go into effect May 20, 1901, and careful preparations had been made for this great event. On the morning of May 20, 1901, it was estimated that nearly 50,000 machinists peacefully laid down their tools when the strike for the nine-hour day was declared. Many firms all over the country granted the nine-hour day without protest, but in other localities it was a fight to the finish; and while the Association did not succeed in some of the larger cities in bringing about a reduction of hours from ten to nine, the nine-hour day became generally established in contract shops throughout the United States. In this year the ninth convention was held at Toronto, Canada. The dues were raised to seventy-five cents per month and the quarterly dues stamp was abolished. The death benefit laws were changed, providing different amounts to be paid upon the death of a member, ranging from fifty to two hundred dollars, depending upon the period of good standing. This convention also reconstituted the General Executive Board, with practically the same functions and powers which prevailed prior to the Buffalo Convention, and increased the number of vice-presidents to five. Greater progress was made in the year of 1901 than in all previous years. During 1902 and on into 1903 business was good, and many agreements were made whereby machinists increased their wages, reduced their working hours and obtained better working conditions.

The tenth convention held at Milwaukee, in May, 1903, provided for two additional vice-presidents, making seven in all; and also decided that a general movement for the eight-hour day be inaugurated in 1904. This action of the convention was

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countermanded later on by referendum vote. The convention adopted superannuation laws, which were later repealed by referendum vote. One important question which this convention ordered submitted to the membership was the industrial extension of the jurisdiction, and also the endorsement of Socialism, both of which were carried by the referendum. In the spring of 1904 it was decided by a referendum vote to amalgamate with the Allied Metal Mechanics, which organization had also agreed to this action by referendum vote. The eleventh convention held at Boston in September, 1905, formed the Grand Lodge of the Ladies' Auxiliary of the International Association of Machinists, appointed a special committee to revise the referendum laws, and substituted for the word "person" in the Constitution the word "machinist," the Milwaukee convention having thrown the doors wide open to any person working at the trade. It was in 1905 that Grand Lodge Officers were first elected by referendum. An attempt was made at the Boston convention to amend the laws so that in the future Grand Lodge Officers would again be elected by convention, which failed. This convention also increased the per capita tax to the Grand Lodge and raised the dues from seventy-five cents to one dollar per month. Probably the most important piece of legislation enacted by the St. Louis convention in September, 1907, was the levying of an assessment equivalent to one day's pay each year for three years upon each of our members. It was hoped that a fund of a million dollars could be raised in this manner. At this time the Association had grown in numbers until it had reached the 75,000 mark, having about seven hundred and fifty lodges in its roster. Late in 1907 a depression in business began, which continued for several years. The Association soon felt the result of what was virtually a panic, and its membership decreased rapidly until it had less than 50,000 members in good standing at the close of 1908. The thirteenth convention held at Denver, Colo., in 1909, approved the action of the General Executive Board in revoking the charters of several lodges located in New York City for the formation of a dual organization. These several lodges formed what was known as the Brotherhood of Machinists, and considerable feeling existed between the latter organization and the International Association of Machinists. Later three of the lodges which were suspended in 1909 were reinstated, and the Brotherhood of Machinists died a natural death. The fourteenth convention held at Davenport, Iowa, in 1911, authorized the strikes on the Illinois Central and Harriman lines which continued for more than three years, being one of the most bitter struggles ever engaged in by this organization. This strike cost the association over \$1,000,000, exclusive of amounts expended by the locals involved. The strike was declared at an end on June 28, 1915.

During the last few years great progress has been made in shortening the hours of labor, increasing wages and improving conditions of the machinists in general. In 1915 the great

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Eight-Hour campaign was inaugurated which has resulted in hundreds of shops throughout the country granting the shorter workday. The fifteenth convention was held in June and July, 1916, in Baltimore, the first convention since 1911. The past two years have been the most successful in the history of the International Association of Machinists. At this writing the membership of this organization numbers nearly 120,000 members in good standing. During the present year (1917) it was decided to organize the women engaged in the machine industry, and no doubt before the close of the year several thousand women will have been taken into the organization. It is impossible in this brief history to do more than touch upon the most important events in the history of the Association which is one of the most militant labor organizations of the United States, but it is safe to say that no other labor organization has accomplished more for its members, under most adverse circumstances, than this Association.

FRED HEWITT,

Editor, *Machinists' Monthly Journal*.

CONSTITUTION OF THE I. A. OF M.

Preamble

We, the International Association of Machinists, believing it to be the natural right of those who toil to enjoy to the fullest extent the wealth created by their labor; and realizing that under the changing industrial conditions of our time, and the enormous growth of syndicates and other aggregations of Capital, it is impossible for us to obtain the full reward for our labor, except by united action.

And, believing that organization founded on sound principles as to the wisest use of our citizenship, based upon the class struggle along co-operative, economic and political lines, with a view of restoring the common weal of our government to the people, and by using the natural resources and means of production and distribution for the benefit of all people;

Therefore, we pledge ourselves to labor unitedly in behalf of the principles herein set forth, to perpetuate our association on the basis of friendship and justice, to expound its objects and work for their general adoption, to respect and obey the laws laid down for its guidance and government, and always labor for its success, knowing as we do that when we are united no reasonable demand we may make can be denied us.

Platform

The International Association of Machinists aims:

1. To bring within the folds of this Association all machinists, male or female, who are actively engaged in the trade or otherwise connected therewith.
2. To adopt, carry out and put in operation an effective plan for keeping the members employed.
3. To endeavor to secure the establishment of a legal apprenticeship system of four years.
4. To impress upon all employers the necessity of paying their employees the full current wages weekly; give preference to work of union members, and abolish the personal record and physical examination.
5. To settle all disputes between employer and employees, not defined in this Constitution, by arbitration, when possible to do so.
6. To shorten the hours of labor to eight hours per day, thus giving the members more opportunities for self-improvement and social enjoyment.

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7. To adopt and carry out a plan of cooperation with other crafts — with the ultimate purpose of amalgamating all metal trades — thereby eliminating strikes of one organization at a time, and by such concerted action all reap the full benefit of their labor.

8. To stimulate the political education of the members to understand their political rights and use the ballot intelligently, to the end that the Government may be a government for, of and by the people, and not to be used as a tool to further the ends of combinations of capital for its own aggrandizement.

9. To urge the membership to vote for and support candidates who are in favor of this platform and the following political demands: Initiative, Referendum, and Recall, National Income Tax Law, National Inheritance Tax Law, National and State Employers' Liability Laws; all judges, without exception, to be elected by vote of the people; national law granting pensions for old age or total disability and accident benefits; public ownership of all public utilities; woman suffrage; change of the Constitution of the United States or any country under our jurisdiction where any of these subjects or questions can be applied; self-government of cities; abolition of the contract system on all public work — city, county, state or national — such work to be done on the day labor plan at union wages.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

The International organization of the ladies' garment workers is barely 17 years old, and is comparatively a youngster among the old, powerful organizations of the American labor movement. Its battle-scarred and grizzled existence, however, makes it easily a match to its senior co-divisions in America's labor army, and its problems and struggles, peculiarly inherent to its trade complexities, have during the past decade put forward some very remarkable labor situations and new industrial methods for their solution, which have since become subjects of research and interest for the student of the labor movement and a guidance to other labor unions through the land.

Roughly speaking, the history of this International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union could be divided into two distinct periods: the first covering the seven years, extending from 1900 to the general strike of the reefer makers in New York in 1907, and the second period from 1907 to date. The first organizations among cloakmakers in New York, Chicago and Philadelphia, indeed, date much further back. The last two decades of the past century have, along with the intensified immigration from Russia, Austria-Hungary and Poland, created a very large garment industry in the big centers and the remarkable expansion of these trades brought about the formation of unions of the cloak and skirt makers, composed largely of these immigrant workers. At times these unions were able to exercise considerable influence on the trade, and by means of general strikes, which recurred regularly before every trade season, wrested some wage increases and slight improvements from the employers. There was, however, no permanence to these gains and these unions, which relied chiefly upon the seasonal general strike for

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their existence, lacked stability, and would, as a rule, go to pieces each time after the wave of the general strike had spent itself and the workers had returned to the shops. Before the following season the workers would again flock into the union, and a new revival for some few weeks would take place, to be superseded again by another period of apathy and indifference. Thus the union, as a pre-season weapon, depending for its partial successes upon strikes, maintained a sporadic existence, flourishing for short periods and lapsing into longer periods of impotence.

The first move for the organization of a country-wide union came about in 1900, when the Cloakmakers' Union of New York issued a call for a convention to the then existing ladies' garment locals in the East for the purpose of forming an international union. The principal idea behind this movement was to introduce a union label into the market, and by steady and gradual work to forge it into a weapon for improving the conditions of the workers in the industry. The considerable success achieved at that time by the United Garment Workers, the men's clothing workers organization, through the use of the union label, served as an alluring example to the few and scattered organizations of the women's garment workers. The ambitions of the promoters of the movement at that time were limited to the label as a means of strengthening the organization, as they hardly believed it feasible to effect a big, solid international organization by any other means. Between 1900 and 1907 the International body, first organized in Philadelphia, met eight times in convention struggling hard for sheer existence and living, both financially and spiritually, from hand to mouth. It kept no organizers in the field, except for occasional trips by the president of the organization. The methods of organization, practically speaking, remained the same in the International organization as they were in the days before its organization. It was the same strike-club extended over the heads of the individual manufacturers before the advent of the season, and the same subsequent apathy of the workers after the strike—a constant ebb and flow which demoralized the mental attitude of the membership and took the hope and spirit out of the hearts of its leaders.

THE STRIKE OF THE REEFERMAKERS IN 1907

In 1907 an occurrence of far-reaching effect took place in the women's wear industry of New York, which at once proved the virility and fighting capacity of the masses of workers. This was the successful nine-week strike of the reefermakers. The great tide of Russian immigration, after the revolution of 1905, and the bloody wave of massacres and desolation, brought into the ranks of the cloak and reefermakers a great number of men and women who were imbued with the fighting ideals and expe-

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riences of the land they had left behind them. The enthusiastic fight of the young, ardent reefermakers and their eventual success left its mark on the workers in all the other branches of the industry at that time, and paved the way for the impending mass movements of the near future.

The following year, 1908, was the year of the great financial panic which dealt a stunning blow to all organized labor in the land, and which, quite naturally, affected the small International Union of women's garment workers as well. Its annual convention of 1908, held in Philadelphia, was not a particularly cheerful gathering, and the conditions in the locals were reported as gloomy and depressing. But the optimism engendered by the remarkable fight of the reefermakers during the previous year, saved the organization, and, in spite of the shadow of the economic crisis that hung over the union until the beginning of 1909, they brought to the task every available ounce of strength and energy and preserved the organization. At that time also the attempts to unite the women's garment workers with the men's garment workers came to a definite negative conclusion. This proposition was first broached in 1905, with the aim of quickening the process of organizing the workers of both industries by a junction of forces.

From that time the International was entering fast upon its second period of big mass movements and wide organizing activity. The first period of petty and frequent shop strikes, of impotence and uncertainty, the period of internal strife and opposition, when disputes about forms of organization seemed more essential than the real objects and aims of a trade union, was passing out definitely. The tremendous development of the industry in the big cities of the country, the trebled numbers of the workers and their concentration in the big shops, together with the pronounced strains of idealism which marked the influx of the revolutionary immigration from Russia, brought to the surface new potent factors which swept aside the petty practices of the past and laid the foundation for an organization with rational methods, concentrated businesslike activity, and brought to the International immense power and prestige.

THE FIRST SHIRT WAIST STRIKE

The first real mass movement came in 1909. It came from quite an unexpected quarter of the industry and disturbed the social slumbers of the entire country. The strike of the 30,000 waist and dressmakers in New York served as a jolt to the easy conscience of the women of high society in New York and other cities; it aroused the press and the more liberal-minded churches, and became a potent demonstration of the manner in which tens of thousands of young immigrant girls were being exploited in this golden land of opportunity, while making silk-

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embroidered shirt waists and dresses to enhance the beauty, increase the comfort and sweeten the lives of the well-to-do. It was a real industrial upheaval. The leaders of the then insignificant waistmakers' organization had never expected such a record uprising and at most anticipated a walkout of 3,000 workers instead of the great numbers that responded. All Jewish, Italian and other workers, excepting a number of native American women, joined the strike.

This strike might have ended more beneficially had the union been prepared at that time to enter into a collective agreement with a large number of waist manufacturers. It is true, to a degree, that neither side was yet fully ripe for a collective agreement, considering the fact that even the protocol agreement made three years later did not work out as satisfactorily as its promoters had anticipated. However, the Waistmakers' Union, in spite of the protracted strike, succeeded in making some very positive gains for the workers and in retaining, for some time at least, a membership of 12,000.

THE GREAT CLOAK STRIKE OF 1910—THE "PROTOCOL"

The moral effect of the strike of the shirt waist girls was far-reaching, and their success imparted a tremendous impetus to the agitation for a strong union and a general strike among the cloakmakers of New York. Within a few months the cloakmakers' locals were brimming over with organized life. The entire industry was seething with unrest. The men were joining their unions in the thousands and the atmosphere in all the cloak shops was charged with the expectation of great and important events that were about to happen. Finally, after weeks of preparation, the strike was called on July 8, 1910. It lasted for ten weeks and ended in a glorious victory and a collective agreement between the biggest manufacturers in the trade and the union, and hundreds of individual agreements with other employers.

The collective agreement between the cloakmakers and their employers, otherwise known as the "Protocol," was a radical departure and a notable achievement over former trade arrangements, and brought excellent results in its wake. In its main features the Protocol arrangement amounted to an organized method of settling labor troubles in a big concentrated industry without the weapons of strikes or lockouts,—this arrangement to continue for an indefinite time, until both or either side saw fit to abrogate it. Of course, the manufacturers who accepted the proposition to have arbitration, mediation and conciliation take the place of strikes and lockouts were animated not by a desire for peace or from sheer philanthropic motives. It was probably due more to farsightedness and to a keen desire to bring regularity and stability on a large and permanent scale to an industry which in its very nature is subject to marked seasonal

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influences and changes. The Protocol thus created the system of by-partial investigation of complaints, a mutual Board of Grievances, a Board of Arbitration and later a permanent Impartial Chairman, to decide upon more complicated and knotty problems. Among the other novel and highly interesting features of the new agreement was the establishment of a Joint Board of Sanitary Control. It was created for the purpose of putting an end to the sweat-shop conditions in the cloak factories by a system of regular sanitary inspection, supported jointly by the union and the employers, a system of fire drills and a number of other safety and hygienic features. Later a medical and a dental clinic for the workers were established in connection with this Board, which proved of remarkable service. The controversy on the question of the closed and open shop was settled by a compromise clause, the "preferential union shop," an arrangement which provided for preference to union workers in the hiring and discharging of employees, and which in view of the fact that the overwhelming majority of the workers belonged to the union proved quite satisfactory.

The Protocol agreement worked with excellent results during the first year of its existence. Through the operation of its established boards the union workers, who numbered practically 100% of the 60,000 men and women working in the cloak trade in New York City, received full consideration. The work in the shops, which is largely made on the piece-work basis, was properly distributed, discrimination against active union workers was not practiced, and the principle of collective bargaining and every other union rule was strictly observed. In the second and third year, however, a turning point was reached. Gradually the manufacturers commenced to change their previous policy. The number of complaints increased, and it became increasingly difficult to obtain redress and justice, and the task of enforcing the union rules became ever harder.

The practice of hair-splitting arguments and academic interpretations of Protocol provisions which invaded the relations between the union and the employers, was full of dangers for the very existence of the agreement. It provoked the workers, as it began to appear clear to them that the changed attitude of the employers was due mainly to the fact that the memories of the heroic struggle of 1910 began to wane and the employers were counting upon the subsided enthusiasm of the workers as an asset in their favor. The main issues involved in these disputes revolved around the unconditional right of the employer to discharge, the question of shop reorganization, and equal distribution of work during the slow season. Later came the question of the right to shop strikes to remedy flagrant abuses by individual employers which involved the very basic foundation of the Protocol arrangement.

For months these questions occupied the attention of the

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Board of Arbitration, which was presided over by Louis D. Brandeis, then a Boston attorney and now a member of the United States Supreme Court. Early in 1915, the Board finally rendered a number of decisions favorable to the union, but the Manufacturers' Association remained quite obstinate and persevered in its tactics of harassing the union, placing its own interpretations upon the decisions of the Board of Arbitration and continually exposing themselves to the charge that they were unfairly seeking to take advantage of the hard times then prevailing.

ABROGATIONS OF THE PROTOCOL — CLOAK STRIKE, 1916.

Finally the employers' association broke up the arrangement by abrogating the Protocol of Peace, after an existence of almost five years, on May 20, 1915. The step was premeditated and was taken by the Association without waiting for the final efforts of the Board of Arbitration to adjust the differences. The ostensible reason given for this abrogation, the recurring stoppages of work in the shops, was rather trivial, as such stoppages of work in the shops had occurred in the past and were made without the consent of the union and could have been adjusted. It was based in reality upon the decision of the leaders of the employers to make nugatory all the gains made by the workers in the ladies' garment trades for years past and to defeat the plans of the union for the standardization of labor and prices.

The abrogation of the Protocol by the manufacturers, intended primarily to embarrass and create chaos in the union, served instead to bring about a new and revived spirit among the workers. While negotiations were conducted with the manufacturers, a vile conspiracy was set in motion to involve the leaders of the Cloakmakers' Union of New York in a homicide case which occurred several years before during the cloak strike of 1910. A number of serious criminal charges were started by the office of the District Attorney of New York, based on perjured testimony furnished by scabs and underworld criminals, against some of the leading officials of the union. Their arrest, which resulted later in the celebrated "Trial of the Eight Cloakmakers," a trial which stirred the entire country and ended in their complete vindication, had roused the workers deeply. They perceived in this conspiracy and in the abrogation of the Protocol an attempt of their enemies to destroy their organization, and responded by a remarkable show of unity and enthusiasm. Soon after, on June 12, 1915, Madison Square, New York's greatest meeting place, saw a remarkable demonstration of tens of thousands of men and women pledging their loyalty to their organization in an unmistakable temper and with a decision to preserve it at all costs.

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Meanwhile a number of forces were set to work to prevent a general conflict. Mayor Mitchel of New York organized a Council of Conciliation, composed of some of New York's best known citizens, which stepped quickly into the breach with the attempt to heal it and to avoid a strike. After a series of remarkable public hearings which lasted over three weeks at the New York City Hall, the Council of Conciliation handed down a decision which was promptly accepted by the union, and afterwards agreed to reluctantly by the Manufacturers' Association, under the stress of public opinion. It raised the scale of wages for piece and week workers, granted the right of review of discharges, upheld the principle of collective bargaining and renewed the Protocol peace arrangements that existed heretofore.

But the spirit of aggression that overtook the employers and the counter-spirit of resentment among the workers was only stayed for a time. Again the lack of fair play and the unceasing hair-splitting and everlasting attempts to benefit by technicalities and one-sided interpretations, created a strong and ever-growing belief among the workers that nothing short of a general strike would clear up the relations between both sides. Dissatisfaction grew with startling rapidity, and in the spring of 1916 it became evident that the course of the employers was headed towards a general strike. The blow fell on April 30, when after a second abrogation of the Protocol the 400 members of the Association ordered a lockout in all their shops. It was quickly followed by the proclamation of a general strike by the union on May 3, which closed up every cloak shop in the city, involving 60,000 workers.

A tremendous fight ensued which lasted for fifteen weeks, practically through the entire slack period of the trade, between the spring and fall seasons. This lockout brought forth an outburst of sympathetic public opinion, unparalleled in labor struggles. In spite of innumerable provocations the great army of workers maintained remarkable order and stood their ground firmly. The strike was finally settled on terms which represented strongly modified arrangements from those prevailing under the Protocol. The working hours were reduced from 50 to 49; the wages for both piece and week workers were materially increased, and, principally, the right of shop strikes was conceded to the union. It was the most signal victory for the locked-out workers and lifted the prestige of the union to a remarkable height. It has forged together, as never before, the ranks of the organization in New York and served as a remarkable stimulus for organization of ladies' garment workers all over the country.

The new agreement was signed for a period of three years, and the union, in addition to the right of shop strikes, also retained the right to confer with the manufacturers when occa-

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sion arises on questions of prices and wages and other labor standards. It is remarkable that the unique institution of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control did not relinquish its activities during the periods of the abrogations of the Protocol. It kept up its work of sanitation and inspection as if by tacit understanding between both sides, notwithstanding the fact that the organizations supporting it were engaged in a bitter controversy.

ORGANIZING THE WOMEN WORKERS

We have dealt at length so far on the struggles of the New York cloakmakers, for the reason that in numerical strength they comprise the major and most solidly organized part of the International. They also were the oldest organizations of the International Union.

During the second period of the history of the International, since 1907, there have, however, taken place a number of remarkable organizing campaigns outside of the New York cloak trade, which have netted the International Union over 50,000 members and given it the fourth place in the American Federation of Labor. The most remarkable feature about those campaigns was that they extended largely to women workers, and made this International Union the leading women's trade union in the country. There are to-day at least 50,000 organized women workers in the ranks of the ladies' garment workers. By far the biggest single woman's trade union local in the country is the Waist and Dressmakers' Union of New York, a part of the International, referred to above in connection with its remarkable strike of 1909.

For three years after that strike, the waistmakers' organization of New York, notwithstanding its considerable membership, maintained a precarious existence. The big change came in the winter of 1913, after a successful general strike in which tens of thousands of women participated. Working hours were reduced to fifty hours, wages materially increased and an agreement similar to the Protocol then existing in the cloak trade in New York, entered into. Later in 1916, this agreement was considerably modified after a two weeks' demonstration of the workers in the trade. A further reduction in the working hours from 50 to 49 per week and a big raise in wages were among the concessions gained. This local union maintains a remarkable educational department for the tens of thousands of its members and conducted a couple of years ago a very broad statistical investigation into the shop conditions of this very big trade. This woman's organization, which conducts its varied business through a big executive committee, is also publishing three periodicals in the English, Jewish and Italian languages, and has established a summer vacation home for the members of the organization. The waist and dressmakers' union is also a part-

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ner in the Joint Board of Sanitary Control and its shops are receiving the benefits of the sanitation and fire safety features of that institution.

The drive to organize the women's wear centers outside of New York began with exceptional strength in 1914, when, at the Cleveland Convention, the International Union placed at its head a veteran leader of the organization, its present indefatigable president, Benjamin Schlesinger. Within a period of two and a half years, the International fought through successfully under his leadership more than a dozen of big contests and added or reclaimed to its fold, the house dress, children's dress and embroidery trades of New York; the cloak and waist trades of Boston; the cloak, waist and dress trades of Philadelphia; the cloak and waist trades in Cincinnati, Worcester, Mass., Toronto and Montreal; the corset workers of Bridgeport and New Haven, Conn.; and several other trades. President Schlesinger was also the leader in all the above cloak struggles in New York in 1915 and 1916.

CONCLUSION

At present the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, in the midst of the greatly disturbed economic and general conditions of the country owing to the world war, faces the future with reserve and confidence in its own strength and unlimited faith in the loyalty of its membership. During the last decade it has faced and weathered a number of acute trials and has made good, emerging victoriously from all of them. It has for the first time, dealing in terms of tens of thousands of workers, applied the principle of collective bargaining in the needle trades. The partial failure of the big experiment of the perpetual peace protocol, which lasted for a number of years, proved that the great masses of organized women's wear workers, while ready and willing to cooperate with their employers in the standardization of labor conditions, were conscious enough not to permit any combination of selfish interests to defeat their rights and just aspirations. The principle of collective bargaining, however, is a firmly established and compelling feature in the ladies' garment trades throughout the country. It has substituted the archaic and unworkable methods of the past, and, backed by a virile and vigilant membership, bids well to protect the interests of the workers in the industry in a rational and progressive way.

MAX D. DANISH,
Ass't Sec'y-Treas. I. L. G. W. U.

CONSTITUTION OF THE I. L. G. W. U.

Preamble.

WHEREAS, The history of the world shows that never has an aggregation of people, whether a nation, a race, a religious sect or a class, obtained

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the recognition of its rights by their fellowmen so long as they were powerless; for, in order to acquire rights, it is first of all necessary to acquire might; and

WHEREAS, The individual unorganized worker is always powerless and hopeless against the oppression of the profit-seeking employer, and often falls a victim of the competitive capitalist system; therefore, we have

Resolved, That the only way to acquire our rights as producers and citizens and to bring about a system of society whereby the workers shall get the full value of their product, is to organize industrially into a class conscious labor union politically represented on the various legislative bodies by representatives of our own party and class. This will enable us to defend our common interests; otherwise the working class cannot possibly make any social or economic progress.

And, in order that the workers should make full use of the power resulting from organization and unity, it is not enough that they should be organized locally without connection or communication with other Unions in the same industry; it is also important that all individual Unions in our trade should be joined together in a central body, or a Union of all the unions. With this object in view, we have established the INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION, which admits to membership all workers engaged in the production of ladies' garments such as cloaks, skirts, waists, wrappers, etc. . . .

PART THREE

LABOR AND THE LAW¹

LABOR LEGISLATION OF 1916

Only eleven state legislatures and congresses held regular sessions in 1916 but, as in previous presidential years, labor questions were given unusual attention and several important statutes were enacted.

MISCELLANEOUS LEGISLATION

South Carolina increased the penalty for not separating white and colored workers in cotton mills (C. 391). Congress authorized the printing of 10,000 bound copies of the report and testimony of the Commission on Industrial Relations and 100,000 copies of the final report of the Commission (J. R. 15); in the fortifications, army, navy, and other appropriation acts it prohibited payments to any person while making a time study of the work of government employees with a stop watch or other device, or of bonuses to employees except for suggestions for improvement or economy in a government plant (Cs. 209, 225, 417, 418, 64th Cong., 1st Sess.).

INDIVIDUAL BARGAINING

Among laws which affect the labor contract between the individual workman and his employer the following enactments of 1916 are of importance: Georgia required contractors on public work to give bond to cover wages (No. 549). In Kentucky, corporations for pecuniary profit must pay wages semi-monthly (C. 21). In Louisiana oil and mining companies were brought under a similar law (C. 108), and persons loaning money on wages must be licensed and pay a state tax (C. 102); a mechanics' lien was established on railroad beds, tracks, franchises, and rights of way (C. 98), liens were extended and safeguarded in other fields (Cs. 229, 232, 262) and employers were forbidden to compel employees to purchase from designated concerns (C. 188). South Carolina established a weekly pay day law for textile plants (C. 546) and modified its lien law (C. 375). Massachusetts limited to those in cities the hotels to which its weekly pay day law applies (C. 229), transferred enforcement of the law to the state board of labor and industries (C. 14), and now requires the wife's written consent for assignment of wages

¹ For articles on Factory Inspection, the Boycott, Blacklist and Injunction, see American Labor Year Book, 1916, Pt. II.

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(C. 208). The new Sing Sing prison in New York is to be built as far as practicable by prison labor (C. 594). Congress forbade members of the federal marine band (C. 417, 64th Congress, 1st sess.) and soldiers from competing with civilians.

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

Legislation affecting the conduct and settlement of trade disputes was passed by three states. Maryland made it the duty of the new state board of labor and statistics to promote voluntary mediation and arbitration; the board may investigate and publish reports but may not enforce findings, and may appoint subordinate boards of arbitration with the same limited powers (C. 406). The Massachusetts law prohibiting advertisements for laborers in establishments where a strike is on without stating the existence of the dispute was amended to require a hearing on three days' notice before the determination of whether or not business is being carried on or going on normally (C. 89), and enforcement of the law was transferred to the board of labor and industries (C. 143). South Carolina created for the investigation and voluntary arbitration of labor disputes, a board of conciliation of three members—one employer, one member of a recognized labor union, and one recommended by these two—appointed by the governor for six years at \$10 for each day of actual service (C. 545).

MINIMUM WAGE

The only state to act on the legal minimum wage was Massachusetts, which amended its law to provide that the commission administering the act must consist of one employer of female labor, one representative of labor, and the third may be a woman (C. 303). The decision of the United States Supreme Court on April 9, 1917, upholding the Oregon Minimum Wage law may result in adoption of such acts in several states in addition to the eleven which now have them.

HOURS

The most important hour law of the year was the federal act establishing a basic eight-hour day on railroads. Eight hours is declared to be "a day's work and the measure and standard of a day's work for the purpose of reckoning the compensation for services." From January 1, 1917, until thirty days after an investigating commission created by the act has reported, the compensation for this standard eight-hour day of employees engaged in operating trains in interstate or foreign commerce, shall not be reduced below the "present standard day's wages." All time over eight hours is to be paid not less than the pro rata rate. The President is to appoint and fix the salary of a commission of three to observe the operation of the act for from six to nine months, within thirty days after which a report must be

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made to the President and Congress. The sum of \$25,000 is appropriated for the use of the commission. Violation is a misdemeanor, penalty \$100-\$1,000, or imprisonment for not more than one year, or both (C. 436, 64th Congress, 1st sess.). This law was attacked by the railroads but was upheld by the United States Supreme Court on March 19, 1917. Four states passed minor laws dealing with men's hours. Massachusetts provided for an eight-hour day for public employees (C. 240), and in New York public contracts may no longer be forfeited at the option of the municipality for violating the eight-hour law (C. 151). For private employments the Mississippi general ten-hour law was amended to permit additional time on the first five days of the week, subject to the sixty-hour week limitation, for the purpose of securing shorter hours on Saturday, and railroads and public service corporations were exempted (C. 239). South Carolina regulated the making up of lost time, and limited daily hours to ten on certain interurban car lines (Ca. 544, 547), and Massachusetts authorized an investigation into seven-day labor in hotels and restaurants (R., C. 74). The upholding of the Oregon general ten-hour law by the United States Supreme Court on April 9, 1917, opens the way for further legislation regulating hours for adult men.

UNEMPLOYMENT

Unemployment legislation in 1916 was slight. Virginia amended its law regulating private employment agencies (C. 168), and the tax on "itinerant labor agents," who were hiring men to go out of the state, was increased from \$25 to \$500 (C. 517). Maryland (C. 406) and New Jersey (C. 40) gave their reorganized labor departments the duty of operating public employment bureaus, and New York created a bureau of farm settlement in the department of agriculture (C. 586). The suggestion of the United States Department of Labor that financial aid be granted to unemployed settling on the public domain was endorsed by California (J. R., C. 8), while investigations of unemployment were ordered in Maryland (C. 406) and Massachusetts (R., C. 157).

SAFETY AND HEALTH

The most notable act in this field in 1916 was the federal law restricting child labor.¹ No new states enacted child labor laws but several modified their standards. Kentucky permitted a non-resident child under sixteen to perform in a theatre if kept under close custody of the parent or other adult custodian (C. 23). Maryland prohibited the employment of children under fourteen in stores, offices, boarding houses, places of amusement, and distribution or sale of merchandise as well as the employment of children under sixteen on certain dangerous

¹ For full treatment of the Federal act see the article by Owen R. Lovejoy.

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machines and in theatres and moving picture houses. The age limit at which females may work at employments requiring constant standing was lowered from eighteen to sixteen, while the general age for newsboys was raised from ten to twelve. The law was strengthened by imposing a penalty for employing, permitting, or suffering, instead of merely employing a child to work, but nearly all penalties were lowered. The enforcing staff was reorganized (C. 222). Requirements for issuance of employment certificates were made more strict, but temporary certificates pending ten days' investigation may be given (C. 701). Amendments in Massachusetts relate to peddlers' licenses (C. 242) and to summer work permits (C. 66), and also provide for technical "cooperative courses" in connection with manufacturing or mercantile establishments (C. 95). The New Jersey commissioner of labor and the commissioner of education may grant certificates to part time students over fourteen in vocational schools to work in manufacturing establishments up to eight hours a day and six days a week (C. 242). New York regulated the performances of children for moving picture films (C. 278), and put additional safeguards around the granting of employment certificates (C. 465). Rhode Island amended the issuance of employment certificates and provided for physical examinations by physicians employed by the state (C. 1378). South Carolina raised the minimum age limit for factories, mines and textile establishments from twelve to fourteen (C. 361).

The Kentucky law creating the state insurance board provides for the appointment by the state auditor of a state fire marshal, for a four-year term, who must after consultation with individuals or committees of organizations make regulations regarding safety from fire; chiefs of fire departments must inspect all buildings in cities every six months and inside the fire limits every three months (C. 19). In Louisiana it is a misdemeanor knowingly to permit defective or improperly guarded machinery (C. 146). Massachusetts required lockers in manufacturing or mercantile establishments where extensive changes of clothing are necessary (C. 115), and Mississippi exempted canneries from registration and license (C. 95). In New Jersey within two years passenger elevators must be equipped with devices preventing movement of the car until the shaft door is closed (C. 260). New York made several amendments to the fire protection law dealing with fire alarms and automatic sprinklers (C. 466), and made it a misdemeanor for steam or electric roads to employ engineers, firemen, and certain other classes of labor unless they can read, speak, and understand English and see and understand signals (C. 424). Rhode Island amended the law on automatic gates on freight elevators (C. 1351), and Virginia required washrooms and toilets for workmen (C. 515) and strengthened the enforcement of the fire escape law (C. 514).

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Virginia also amended her coal mine act, prohibiting a miner from continuing work in a place known to him to be unsafe (C. 458). The federal seamen's act was amended by reapportioning the number and kind of buoys for vessels under 400 feet in length (C. 141, 64th Congress, 1st sess.).

SOCIAL INSURANCE

Massachusetts (R., C. 157) followed the example of California the year before in establishing a commission to study social insurance with special reference to health insurance. Both these commissions early in 1917 reported in favor of universal workmen's health insurance.

Congress replaced its inadequate workmen's compensation law of 1908 covering only about a quarter of the government's civilian employees by a model liberal act applying to all 400,000 employees and administered by a commission of three at \$4,000 annually. The act provides for full medical care, 66⅔ per cent. of wages during total disability, a waiting period of only three days, and generous allowances to widows and orphans. An appropriation of \$550,000 was made for 1917 (C. 458, 64th Congress, 1st sess.).

Kentucky and Porto Rico passed workmen's compensation laws, making thirty-five states and territories which adopted such legislation since 1911. The Kentucky law is elective, with an administrative board of three at \$3,500 a year. The scale of compensation is 65 per cent. of wages, total payments not to exceed \$5,000; the employer must provide medical and surgical care up to \$100, and compensation is increased or decreased 15 per cent. in accordance with the failure of the employer to provide safety appliances or of the employee to observe safety rules. Alien non-resident dependents are barred from compensation (C. 33). The Porto Rico act is also elective; standards of payment are lower than most states, but for permanent total disability the allowance is 75 per cent. of wages for 208 weeks, plus \$1,500; a commission of five is to administer the act. Numerous amendments to existing laws were passed. Massachusetts reduced the waiting period to ten days (C. 90); New Jersey established in the labor department a workmen's compensation aid bureau to assist in administering the law (C. 54). New York added several new occupations to those already covered, provided for elective acceptance in non-hazardous trades, allowed awards for facial or head disfigurement, and slightly increased certain items in the compensation scale (C. 622). Louisiana made its law somewhat more liberal, including compensation for serious disfigurements (No. 243). Maryland extended compensation to non-resident alien widows,

¹ For a fuller treatment of the subject see articles on Health Insurance and Workmen's Compensation.

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children and parents, and in order to bar an award intoxication must have been the sole cause of the accident (C. 597). Two Southern states, South Carolina and Virginia, which are still without compensation laws, amended their employer's liability statutes on railroads.

ADMINISTRATION OF LABOR LAWS

New Jersey and Maryland reorganized their labor departments. The New Jersey reorganization was mainly internal, forming the existing staff into bureaus, slightly increasing it, and raising salaries; all employees except the commissioner are to be under classified civil service (C. 40). In Maryland a state board of labor and statistics was established, combining the former bureau of statistics and information, the inspection of female labor, steam boiler inspection and the mothers' pension administration; the board consists of a chairman at \$2,500 and two advisory members at \$500, all appointed by the governor for two years (C. 406). Massachusetts amendments include transferring the prevention of industrial accidents and occupational diseases to the board of labor and industries (C. 308). In New York City the borough superintendents of buildings were given the jurisdiction formerly vested in the industrial commission, over construction and alteration of buildings, subject to a board of standards and appeals, and regulation of bakeries and confectioneries in tenement houses was transferred from the city health department to the tenement house department (C. 503). Power of citizens of New York to proceed against labor department officials was limited, but enforcing procedure by the commissioner of labor was facilitated (C. 152). Georgia authorized its labor commissioner to appoint an additional factory inspector at \$1,200 annually (C. 547).

SOLON DE LEON.

THE FEDERAL CHILD LABOR LAW

The Federal Child Labor Law which took effect September 1, 1917, bars from interstate commerce the products of mines and quarries where children under 16 are employed, and the products of mills, factories, canneries, and workshops where children under 14 are employed or children between 14 and 16 are employed more than 8 hours a day or at night. It represents, virtually, a new interpretation of the interstate commerce clause of the Constitution, since its ultimate effect is to regulate conditions of employment within the states by regulating the market for products. The employer is still free, to be sure, to employ children if he sells his goods within his state, but he may not warehouse his goods and then ship them out, nor may he ship any products of his plant out of the state if within

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thirty days he has employed children contrary to the federal law.

This so-called thirty-day clause has caused, probably, more discussion and dissension than any other part of the law. During the Presidential campaign of 1916 the thirty-day clause was used as political capital by certain politicians who insisted that it was a joker completely nullifying the act. But the truth as to the clause has been very clearly stated by Thomas I. Parkinson, of Columbia University, the National Child Labor Committee's legal adviser in Washington during the hearings on the bill, and Senator Albert Cummins, who was a member of the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce which drafted the final form of the measure. Mr. Parkinson says:

"The attempt to discredit the Federal Child Labor Law because of an alleged 'joker' evidently proceeds from hasty consideration of the act. Under the act as passed by Congress, if children were employed within thirty days prior to the removal of goods, whether to a warehouse or for immediate shipment, those goods could not thereafter be shipped. This would be true notwithstanding the children were discharged the next day. The shipment of such goods is not merely deferred, it is forever prohibited. The only 'warehousing' which would be effective to defeat the law would be storage in the place of production. If avoidance of this law in order to employ children is of so much importance to a manufacturer that he is willing to have his factory cluttered with completed goods for a period of thirty days after he has dismissed his child employees, then, and only in that case, can he escape the law. This thirty-day clause was inserted by the drafters of the law after very careful consideration of the technical problems involved in securing a constitutional and enforceable statute on this subject. It is true it represents a compromise but a compromise not of politics but of various proposals for overcoming constitutional and administrative difficulties without imposing unnecessary burdens on legitimate business."

Senator Cummins said in a letter dated September 23, 1916:

"I understand from your letter that it has also been claimed that the producer in any state could sell either absolutely or nominally to a dealer in the state and that after thirty days the dealer could ship the product in interstate commerce. This is not true for the dealer in the state of production must have a certificate from the producer or manufacturer that children have not been employed by the producer under prohibited conditions: and if the certificate is false, while the dealer cannot be prosecuted, the producer can be.

"It is not less absurd to claim that the producer can use a warehouse to evade the law. In order to accomplish any such evasion the producer must hold the goods in the mill, workshop

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or factory for thirty days after the employment of children has ceased, at which time there will be no necessity for using a warehouse inasmuch as the goods could then be shipped directly. An honest examination of the Act will convince any person that it is just as effective as it could be made without creating such a disturbance in the commerce of innocent people as would have awakened a sentiment against the measure that would have brought about its speedy overthrow.

"I have reviewed again the entire subject and am thoroughly persuaded that the act will effectuate the humane purposes toward which the friends of child labor legislation have, for a long time, been striving."

It will be observed that the law applies only to child labor in manufacturing, mining and quarrying. This is due partly to the public's limited view of the child labor problem and partly to the limitations of the Constitution. Only 15 per cent. of the children employed in the United States are affected by this law, and yet the popular conception of child labor includes practically no others than mill, factory and mining children, and whereas the Constitution does not, apparently, permit federal regulation of the entire field of industry, it is nevertheless undoubtedly true that if the public had recognized the dangers of child labor on the streets, in the fields, in stores, laundries, bakeries, and even in domestic service as clearly as they recognize the dangers of factory labor, some way of improving the situation would have been found. One great result of the passage of this law should be to clear the field and bring before the public in its proportions the entire problem of child labor in this country, so that we may push on, regulating other forms of labor and eventually assuring our children adequate protection and education.

The chief reasons for the passage of the law, aside from the fact that the American people were ready to express their united opinion that the labor of little children is contrary to the ideals of our nation, were (1) the demand for a comprehensive and vigorous authority to deal with our widespread problems, a demand which is everywhere expressing itself in the centralization of power in the federal government, (2) the cry for uniformity in legislation, stimulated as much by the employers who have felt the divergence in state labor standards unfair as by those of us who have wished to force backward states into line with the more progressive ones, and (3) the conviction that more effective administration, both in inspection and prosecution, may be secured through the federal government than through the states, where local influences are too apt to bar the path of complete justice.

As for the results of the law, in round numbers about 150,000

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children will be affected. In factories, mills and workshops there are over 27,000 children 10 to 14 who will be thrown out of work and may, if their state laws are strong enough to keep them from other occupations, now go to school with their more fortunate brothers. There are also some 17,000 children between 10 and 16 who will be taken out of our mines and quarries. Over 122,000 children between 10 and 16 work in factories in states where they may be employed 9, 10 or 11 hours a day, and over 29,000 work in states where they may be employed in factories at night. The most notable examples of factory workers are, of course, the cotton mill children of the South, while the boy glass-workers of West Virginia are probably our best known child night-workers. But all over the country, even where state laws have already fixed the same standards as the federal law, there will undoubtedly be a great change in the attitude of manufacturers toward the law which will result in a general lessening of child exploitation. Where local inspectors have complained that, as in New York State in 1916, they find thousands of flagrant violations, it will soon be discovered that the manufacturer does not relish prosecution by federal courts and is very careful not to lay himself open to suspicion.

The most far-reaching effects of the law, however, will be in its relation to other child labor standards and to education. As a result of the federal law, state laws, not only as regards factories, mines and quarries, but in other fields, are bound to improve. Furthermore, with children thrown out of industry and into the schools, the states will be forced to improve their educational system. The growing feeling that it is not profitable to hire a child under 16 will continue to grow. Unless the general 8-hour day spreads many manufacturers will not find it worth while to employ 14 to 16-year-old children for 8 hours when his older employees work 9 to 10 hours. And so these children between 14 and 16 will be less and less desirable in industry and a more and more pressing problem to the schools. Continuation and vocational schools will have to be provided for them. The whole question of industrial training will receive stimulation, and the problem, which has been before the people for so long, of providing different types of schools for different types of children will at last be squarely up to the nation.

There have been, as a result of the international crisis, suggestions that the federal child labor law be suspended during war, but such suggestions come from a small, short-sighted minority and will have little weight in Congress. Everyone who has studied labor conditions in other warring countries knows that our first concern here must be for the conservation and development of our labor force, and the country should be quick

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to recognize the value of the federal child labor law as a means of assuring its children protection from overwork and neglect even in time of war.

On August 29, 1917, three days before the Federal Child Labor Law took effect, Judge Boyd of the Federal Court for the Western District of North Carolina, at Greensboro, handed down a decision in the case of Dagenhart vs. The Fidelity Manufacturing Co., a cotton mill company of Charlotte, North Carolina, restraining this company from discharging Dagenhart's children from its employ because of the Federal Child Labor Law and enjoining the Federal district attorney from enforcing it in that district, on the ground that the act was unconstitutional. It was held that Congress could not directly control conditions of employment within a state and therefore could not do so indirectly through its control over interstate commerce. The case will go to the Supreme Court of the United States on appeal and in the meantime the act is in force elsewhere throughout the country.

OWEN R. LOVEJOY.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION

Since 1916 was an off year for state legislation, when very few legislatures met, comparatively little progress was made in the field of compensation legislation. Only two legislatures adopted such acts for the first time, namely, Kentucky, where a previous act passed in 1914 had been declared unconstitutional, and Porto Rico. Neither of these two acts deviated in any essential features from the general type of legislation hitherto passed in the United States. Both are elective acts with two weeks waiting period and very narrow time limitations. It is significant, however, that in both of these acts the 50% scale of benefits has been abandoned, Kentucky giving 65% and Porto Rico as much as 75%.

The one important event in the field of compensation legislation in the United States in 1916 was the passage by Congress of the Kern-McGillicuddy Bill for compensation of Federal employees, which was approved by the President and became law September 7, 1916. This is a substitution for the older act of 1908 which was limited to about $\frac{1}{4}$ of the Government employees and provided a very inadequate scale of benefits. The importance of the new act is not only in the better provisions made for some half million civil employees of the United States Government, but in the high standards of compensation legislation established by the new act which was drawn up by an expert committee of the American Association for Labor Legislation. While the Bill in passing through Congress has suffered somewhat at the hands of conservative Congressmen, mainly by elimination of the specific provisions for compensation of occu-

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pational diseases, it still remains the most liberal and just compensation law in the United States. This claim is based upon the following provisions contained in the law:

1. It is compulsory.
2. It applies to all civil employees of the United States and not to extra-hazardous trades only.
3. The waiting period has been reduced to 3 days.
4. There are neither money nor time limitations to the medical benefits.
5. The normal scale of benefits for total disability is 66⅔%.
6. Benefits are given to widows until death or re-marriage.
7. Benefits to surviving children are given until 18 years of age.
8. Benefits for disability last as long as disability lasts without arbitrary time limitations.

The standards thus established, taken together are, perhaps, as high as any act in the world, though none of these standards taken separately are without precedents.

The further development of compensation legislation in this country must largely consist in the raising of the existing provisions up to the standard of the federal act. The general tendency of amendment of the existing compensation acts proceeds in the right direction, though in 1916 only a few of the acts have been amended to any extent. The following amendments are worthy of notice:

Massachusetts reduced its waiting period from two weeks to 10 days.

New Jersey was forced to establish a compensation aid bureau in view of the admitted abuses under the act in absence of an efficient system of administration.

New York act, of which the weakest feature was its limited application to hazardous trades, was extended to apply to a large number of additional employments.

By the end of 1916 36 jurisdictions out of 53 compensation acts in force, these 36 jurisdictions represent over 75% of the population, and according to the computation of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics (Bulletin 203, page 66) 28,370,000 persons gainfully employed out of a total of 39,000,000 or 73%. Limiting the comparison to employees only, there were in the compensation states some 20,062,000 out of a total of 27,900,000 or 72%. It does not follow, however, that this measures the extent of application of the compensation principle in the United States. There are unfortunately so many occupational groups that in the compensation states only 13,300,000 out of a total of 20,000,000 wage workers are as yet covered; probably one-half of the industrial population of this country was still subject to the old liability system by the end of 1916.

I. M. RUBINOW, Ph.D.

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PROGRESS OF THE HEALTH INSURANCE MOVEMENT ¹

Events of the last few months have apparently made it certain that following the enactment of the workmen's compensation principle into law in thirty-seven states, compulsory Health Insurance measures will be passed in several states at an early date. At present the pre-legislative stage of official investigating commissions with reports *pro* and *con* and discussion of the "Americanism" of the movement, is in full swing. Similar activities were the immediate precursors of the first workmen's compensation laws.

Socialists have long favored a complete system of social insurance, and the Progressive party also supported it, but in the fall of 1916 the old line parties gave attention to the subject in Wisconsin and Massachusetts. Both Republican and Democratic platforms favored an investigation of Health Insurance. Later, in their inaugural messages, the governors of California, Massachusetts, and Nevada came out for Health Insurance legislation, while the governors of New Hampshire and Wisconsin urged study of the question.

In the early weeks of 1917, the first American reports by official investigating commissions were made public. The Social Insurance Commissions of Massachusetts and California both reported in favor of compulsory Health Insurance as the logical next step in the American social insurance movement. Both reports advocated the inclusion of practically all low-paid wage-earners under a system providing adequate medical care and financial aid during illness; support of the system by joint contributions from employers, employees, and the state; and the entire exclusion of profit-making insurance companies from the field. These points are practically in agreement with the standards put forward by the American Association for Labor Legislation.

Both the Massachusetts and the California commissions were continued with appropriations for further detailed study, and the California legislature also passed a constitutional amendment permitting the establishment of Health Insurance, which will be submitted to popular vote in the fall of 1918. Additional legislative investigating commissions have been created in the important industrial states of Connecticut, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin. Health Insurance bills were introduced at the 1917 legislative sessions in a total of thirteen states.

The position of the American labor movement on Health Insurance was vividly described by William Green, Secretary-Treasurer of the United Mine Workers, the largest American

¹ See the American Labor Year Book, 1916, pp. 288-289, for a sketch of the movement prior to 1916.

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labor union, in a speech favoring Health Insurance at the tenth annual meeting of the American Association for Labor Legislation in Columbus, Ohio, December, 1916. Mr. Green said, "All classes of working people appreciate that there is as much need for health insurance as there is for workmen's compensation benefits. There is a unanimity of opinion regarding this principle. Any differences that exist are with regard to the methods to be employed. . . . Objection has been raised by some representative men, prominent in trade unions, to any compulsory plan. . . . Such an objection was vigorously advanced when compulsory compensation laws were first proposed." Gradually, however, the objectors are being won over to Mr. Green's position that compulsion which increases social welfare does not diminish individual liberty and that only a compulsory plan can cover those who most need its help.

Among the representative international unions which have gone on record in favor of Health Insurance within the last few months may be mentioned the International Typographical Union, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers, Glass Bottle Blowers' Union, Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Workers, United Textile Workers, International Glove Workers, and the International Spinners' Union. Since 1916 state federations of labor have endorsed Health Insurance legislation or investigation in the eleven states of California, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin. Important local labor groups supporting Health Insurance include the Cleveland Central Labor Union, and the United Hebrew Trades of New York City.

At its national convention at Kansas City in June, 1917, the National Women's Trade Union League, testifying to the increasing number of women in industry and the "growing importance of conserving the health of our mothers and prospective mothers," passed a resolution in support of "a universal system of Health Insurance, from which private profit shall be eliminated, so that efficient medical and maternity care may be furnished to sick workingwomen and needed incentive given to the prevention of sickness and industrial disease."

Criticism of the movement by physicians has been mainly directed to securing proper protection for their interests in the measures drafted. Some of the most enthusiastic supporters of Health Insurance are members of the medical and nursing professions. The American Medical Association, at its 1917 annual convention, voted to continue its investigations into the matter and to aid in molding legislation.

While many progressive employers are firm believers in Health Insurance, several having instituted systems in their own plants,

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the reactionary National Association of Manufacturers has withdrawn its preliminary statement of approval and now attacks the measure as "impracticable" and "un-American."

The strongest opposition, however, comes from the representatives of commercial insurance companies. "Insurance federations," composed of insurance agents and brokers, have been formed in many states with the avowed purpose of fighting state action on insurance matters. A California newspaper, in an editorial concerning an attack on Health Insurance by the state insurance federation, says of their attitude: "With amusing stupidity the argument contends that social insurance is a fatally bad policy for the people, but it will be all right provided the insurance companies are permitted to get their share of the business."

The stand of labor on the entrance of private profit into Health Insurance has been definitely taken. A resolution passed at the convention of the American Federation of Labor in November, 1916, declares that "We are unalterably opposed to private insurance companies for profit, which should be eliminated from any kind of industrial, social, or health insurance."

To insure this and other features needed in legislation for the protection of the wage-earners, such as democratic management of the insurance carriers and a liberal scale of benefits, it is essential that labor assume an active part in the preliminary stage of investigation and agitation, now fast drawing to a close.

JOHN B. ANDREWS, Ph.D.

COURT DECISIONS AFFECTING LABOR

Several important decisions were handed down by the Supreme Court of the United States in 1916 and the early part of 1917. The most noteworthy related to hours of labor. Of chief interest in this field was the Adamson Eight Hour Law decision which held that Congress had the power to limit the number of hours to eight for trainmen engaged in interstate commerce, as well as the right compulsorily to arbitrate disputes between the railroads and their employees for the benefit of the public.

Another important decision of this court was that sustaining the Oregon Ten Hour day for factory employees, without regard to sex or age. This decision reversed the ruling of the court in 1905, which held unconstitutional the ten hour law for bakeries of New York State. Thus for the first time the United States Supreme Court recognized the power of a state to enact laws *limiting the hours of service of adult males in private employment*, as well as those of females and children.

During this period, the court also made its first broad decisions in favor of the constitutionality of workmen's compensation laws. A number of the states had formerly passed on such

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laws, but, in approving those of New York and Washington, the U. S. Supreme Court gave final assent to this form of legislation. The Washington law, which the court declared valid, provided for a compulsory state insurance fund, and was among the most drastic thus far enacted. The elective law of Iowa was likewise sustained.

An important *wage* decision was that declaring the Oregon Minimum Wage a proper exercise of the police power. This referred to women and minors under eighteen.

Of interest also during the year were a number of rulings of the courts of last resort of the various states. Much comment in the ranks of labor was caused by the decision of the Massachusetts court declaring unconstitutional an act which undertook to limit the issue of injunctions in labor disputes. The act stated that injunctions should be issued only when property rights were affected and that labor was not property. To this contention the court took direct issue. The Kentucky court of appeals, which had declared unconstitutional the workmen's compensation law of 1914, asserted that the enactment of 1916 was valid. The courts of last resort in California, Illinois, Texas and Oregon upheld the constitutionality of such laws. The phrase appearing in workmen's compensation laws, "injury rising out of and in the course of employment," has led to much controversy, as has also the provision in the Federal liability law which covers employees only when the employing company is engaged in interstate commerce and when the injured person at the time of his injury is also so engaged. The workmen's compensation decisions in many of the states are most conflicting, and indicate how difficult it is to determine whether relief should be sought by compensation or by suits in damages.

THE ADAMSON EIGHT-HOUR LAW

Of preeminent importance among recent decisions was the case of *Wilson v. New et al.* (37 Sup. Ct. Rep. 298, decided Mar. 19, 1917), which declared in favor of the constitutionality of the Adamson Eight Hour Law. This law, passed in early September, 1916, provided that "eight hours shall, in contracts for labor and services, be deemed a day's work, for the purpose of reckoning the compensation for services of all employees . . . who are now or may hereafter be actually engaged in any capacity in the operation of trains used for the transportation of persons or property on railroads" in interstate commerce. The second section provided for the appointment of a commission to observe the operation of the act for a period of from six to nine months, and to report results to the President. The third section required that until thirty days after the report of the commission, the wages should not be reduced below the present rate, while overtime should be paid at a rate not less

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than the pro rata rate for such standard eight-hour workday.

The district court in Missouri declared the act unconstitutional. The United States Supreme Court reversed the decision of the lower court by a five to four division. Chief Justice White delivered the majority opinion. He contended that the law provides both for an eight hour standard and a wage scale. The first is permanent, the second, temporary in its operation. The power of Congress to fix hours of employment has been upheld in numerous cases. Many decisions have recognized that the business of common carriers by rail is in a sense public and "that the public interest begets a public right of regulation to the full extent necessary to secure and protect it." The failure of the employers and employees of the railroad to come to an agreement threatened infinite injury to the public interests. In order to protect public interests, it was necessary for Congress to step in and deal with this dispute, even to the extent of the provisions of the bill. Previous legislation gave Congress the power to fix rates, regulate bills of lading, tariffs, hours of service, safety appliances, etc. "What purpose would be subserved by all of these regulations, if there were no power in government to prevent all service from being destroyed?"

It has been stated that this law interferes with the private right of carrier and employer to make contracts of employment. However, the public right to prevent destruction of commerce is superior to such private rights. For both employer and worker are engaged in a business charged with a public interest. At the same time, both are protected against confiscation and against every act of arbitrary power.

The court then considered the constitutional objections on the ground that it exempted from its operation certain short line and electric railroads; that it failed to deal with all railway employees; that it violated the constitutional provision regarding due process of law, and that it was unworkable. The court concluded that the act could not be considered void on any of these grounds. Justice McKenna, in a concurring opinion, held that the law related chiefly to hours of labor. Several judges rendered minority opinions, claiming that the statute took away property without due process of law; that the regulation of wages had nothing to do with the power to regulate interstate commerce, etc.

THE OREGON TEN HOUR LAW

Of prime social importance also was the decision upholding the Oregon Ten Hour Law (*Bunting v. Oregon*, decided April 9, 1917). This law fixed the hours of labor at ten hours in "any mill, factory, or manufacturing establishment" in the state. Certain provision was made for emergency, and not to exceed three hours a day overtime was allowed, for which payment

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was to be made at the rate of time and one-half of the regular wage.

The law was attacked on the ground that it was a wage, and not a health provision, and that it took away property without due process of law. Justice McKenna, in delivering the opinion, declared that the purpose of the legislation had to be considered. The fact that excess payment was demanded for overtime did not make it a wage law. Such provision merely exacted a penalty and helped in the enforcement of the law. The act was within the admitted power of government. No facts were presented to indicate that it was not necessary as a health measure and the fact that certain other countries employed workers for less than 10 hours a day, and that a ten hour day was sanctioned by custom in local industries indicated that the act was not unreasonable or arbitrary. Nor could it be considered discriminatory as against mills, etc. No reference was made to other decisions, nor to the 10-hour bakery law of New York, held unconstitutional by the same court in 1905.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION

As has been stated, the first decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States upholding the constitutionality of workmen's compensation laws were handed down during the past year.

A refreshing contrast is evidenced in these decisions over those of years ago which were wont to proclaim the sanctity of the common law principles of contributory negligence, fellow servant rule and assumption of risks.

The decision dealing with the constitutionality of the New York compensation law was handed down on March 6, 1917, in the case of the New York Central Railroad Company v. White (37 Sup. Ct. Rep. 247). Chief objection brought to the statute was, as usual, that it would deprive the plaintiff of its property without due process of law, and would deny to it the equal protection of the laws. Sarah White, the widow of a watchman who was killed while guarding tools and material for use in the building of a railroad station and tracks on an interstate railroad, was the plaintiff. The court decided that the statute was not invalidated by the fact that it modified the common law conception of negligence. "Negligence is merely the disregard of some duty imposed by law," and its nature and extent may be modified by legislation. The legislature has also the power to make departures from other common law defenses.

It also maintained that an accident to the worker "may be charged to the expense of operation as truly as the cost of repairing broken machinery." Inasmuch as the legislation relieves the employer of his responsibility measured by the common law standard, it is justifiable that he shall be required to contribute

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a reasonable amount for the loss of earning power of the employee incurred in a common enterprise, irrespective of the question of negligence. Nor is it unreasonable that the employee should be relieved of the extremely difficult task of proving negligence on the part of the employer. Even if the law did impose liability without fault, such imposition is not a novelty in the law.

The court then considered the question as to whether the provision for compulsory compensation amounted to a deprivation of an employer's property without due process of law. The loss from accident, it stated, must fall somewhere. "It results from something done in the course of an operation from which the employer expects to derive a profit." In excluding the question of fault, the act looks to the remote cause—the employment itself. "For this, both parties are responsible, since they voluntarily engage in it as coadventurers with personal injury to the employee as a probable and foreseen result." It could not be said that any form of compensation was reasonable. However, no criticism is made regarding the scheme suggested in the statute.

Nor does this statute strike at freedom of contract. It does measurably limit freedom to agree respecting the terms of employment, but, nevertheless, it constitutes a reasonable exercise of the police power of the state, for it directly affects the common welfare. "One of the grounds of its concern with the continued life and earning power of the individual is its interest in the prevention of pauperism, with its concomitants of vice and crime." The provisions of the act are, furthermore, ample enough to afford the notice and opportunity to be heard required by the fourteenth amendment. Nor does the exclusion of farm laborers and domestic servants constitute an arbitrary classification.

An even more drastic compensation law—one involving a compulsory state insurance fund—was also declared constitutional by a five to four decision (*Mountain Timmer Co. v. Washington*, 37 Sup. Ct. Rep. 260; decision handed down Mar. 6, 1917).

The statute abolished private right of action for employees in the hazardous industries (and in any other industry at the option of the employer and employees) and substituted a system of compensations to workmen and their dependents out of a public fund established and maintained by employers in proportion to the hazard of each class of occupations. The chief points at issue were whether the object of the legislation was of public interest, the charges imposed reasonable or the burden fairly distributed.

In declaring that the question of the welfare of those injured in the battles of industry is a matter of public concern, the justice

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drew an interesting analogy between the soldiers of war and the soldiers of peaceful industry. He said in part:

"A familiar exercise of State power is the grant of pensions to disabled soldiers and to the widows and dependents of those killed in war. Such legislation usually is justified as fulfilling a moral obligation or as tending to encourage the performance of the public duty of defense. But is the State powerless to compensate, with pensions, otherwise, those who are disabled, or the dependents of those whose lives are lost in the industrial occupations that are as necessary to develop the resources and add to the wealth and prosperity of the State? A machine as well as a bullet may produce a wound, and the disabling effect may be the same. In a recent case, the supreme court of Washington said: 'Under our statutes the workman is the soldier of organized industry, accepting a kind of pension in exchange of absolute insurance on his master's premises.' . . . It is said that the compensation or pension under this law is not confined to those who are left without means of support. This is true. But is the State powerless to succor the wounded except they be reduced to the last extremity? Is it debarred from compensating an injured man until his last resources are first exhausted? This would be to discriminate against the thrifty and in favor of the improvident. The power and discretion of the State are not thus circumscribed by the fourteenth amendment."

The Court quickly disposed of the question of reasonableness and of fair distribution of burdens and defended the system of occupation taxes devised by the bill as well as the provisions preventing deductions from wages to pay for the contribution exacted from the employer.

The third compensation law upheld by the Supreme Court was the Iowa case (*Hawkins v. Bleakly*, 37 Sup. Ct. Rep. 255, decision handed down March 6, 1917). This elective law specified that employees could elect to ignore this law and prosecute their case under the common law, but that such election was not open to employers. The plaintiffs argued that this provision denied to them the equal protection of the law vouchsafed by the constitution. The court denied this and sustained the constitutionality of the statute.

MINIMUM WAGE DECISION

The deadlock of the court in the minimum wage decision (*Settler v. O'Hara*; *Simpson v. O'Hara*, 37 Sup. Ct., April 9, 1917), left undisturbed the decision of the Supreme Court of Oregon which declared the minimum wage law of that state constitutional. The law provided for the establishment of an industrial welfare commission with authority to establish minimum wages for women and minors, the latter term including persons of both sexes under the age of 18. The act contained a statement to the effect that its object was to assist in the health and morals of those affected. The state court held that every argument in favor of laws dealing with hours of employment applied with equal force to the constitutionality of the minimum wage law. In reply to the allegation that the act abridged the privileges and immunities of citizens in contra-

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vention of the fourteenth amendment, the court stated that "employment for such hours and at such wages as would reasonably seem to be detrimental to the health or welfare of the community is not a privilege or immunity of any citizen." Justice Brandeis, who assisted in the preparation of the brief before his elevation to the bench, took no part in the decision.

INJUNCTIONS

An important decision of a state court resulting in the overthrow of a law limiting the use of injunctions in labor disputes was made in the case of *Bogni et al. v. Perotti et al.* (112 N. W. 853, decided May 19, 1916), by the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts. In this case, plaintiffs, members of a local of the I. W. W., secured an injunction against a local hod carriers' union affiliated with the A. F. of L. on the ground that the latter threatened to have the members of the I. W. W. discharged from their employment, if they did not leave their organization and join the hod carriers' union; further, that the defendants had "intimidated certain owners of property not to employ plaintiffs by threats of sympathetic strikes and otherwise."

The defendants justified their action under the statute on injunctions which held that no injunctions should issue except to prevent irreparable injury to property or to a property right, and further specified that the right to make contracts of employment, or to do work as a laborer or employee was not a property, but a personal right. The court held that the right to labor was property and that to decide otherwise was to deprive a laborer of a remedy open freely to other kinds of property, and thus to deprive him of equal protection of the laws. The statute was therefore held invalid.

RESTRAINT OF COMMERCE

Another case involving labor organizations was that of *Dowd v. United Mine Workers of America*, decided by the United States Circuit Court of Appeals (235 Fed. Rep. 1). In this case eight coal companies brought an action for damages against 27 locals of the United Mine Workers on the ground of unlawful combination in restraint of interstate commerce and trade. The complaint alleged actual interference with and destruction of cars of common carriers to be used in interstate commerce for the transportation of coal. It was filed September 1, 1914, prior to the passage of the Clayton Amendment of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law. Defendants contended that they were unincorporated organizations and not associations within the meaning of the law. The Court decided, however, that they came within the purview of the law and overruled the demurrer.

In other decisions relating to labor organizations, unions were

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declared guilty of restraining trade and commerce with foreign nations (*U. S. vs. Rintelen*), were made liable to damages resulting from violence occurring in a strike for a closed shop and from libelous and malicious statements; while members of unions were adjudged in contempt of court for violating an injunction which was too broad in its terms, but for the modification of which no steps had been taken.

FACTORY REGULATIONS

Several decisions of note were made during the year in the realm of factory regulations. The Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of New York State declared (in *Pease and Elliman*) that the agent in charge of a building for collecting rent and making minor repairs should be held responsible under the law for the installation of such fire escapes as are required. In *People v. Diamond*, the same law was held to support indictments for manslaughter against both the owner and the agent, where death had followed a disregard of the law forbidding workroom doors in a factory to be locked during working hours. A Missouri statute was upheld which required foundries to provide suitable dressing rooms, etc., though the foundries had been singled out among the industries.

In regard to railroad regulations, the Supreme Court held that the Federal safety appliance law applied to electric cars operated in part as street railway and in part as an interurban interstate line.

EMPLOYER AND EMPLOYEE

A number of significant cases were decided under the general heading of "Employer and Employee." Dealing with the status of seamen, one court declared that the Federal Statute of 1915 prohibited their imprisonment for desertion and that the Virginia laws under which the men were held were repugnant to the Federal legislation. Another court held the master of the ship guilty of negligence for permitting the escape of an officer who had assaulted a seaman. In a third case, a sailor recovered damages against the vessel because of failure of its officer to call a physician with sufficient promptness.

In a breach of contract case, an employee engaged in general commercial work was discharged before the expiration of his time. The court held that the jury and not the employer was the judge as to whether employer should be satisfied with the services of the worker. Another court, dealing with the case of a workman discharged before the end of his term of service, decided that such employee could recover for the entire unexpired term, even though he was ill a portion of the time. Still another court, dealing with breach of contract, involving an employee of a Board of Education, took the position that "in subordination" and "malicious accusations" constituted a suffi-

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cient cause for discharge. A breach of contract was also spelled out when an employer imposed on a worker duties not contemplated at the time of employment. Of interest to "labor agitators" is the case when an employee was given a clearance card which stated that he was discharged because he was an agitator. The court held that the worker could not recover damages because in the opinion of the court, no *special* damages were shown, and the declaration of the agitator was not libelous *per se*.

MISCELLANEOUS

Besides the decision on the minimum wage, numerous other wage decisions were handed down. Statutes requiring weekly and semi-monthly payments and payment to be made on discharge were held constitutional. Coupon books to be redeemed at company stores were pronounced transferable. A specific lien, such for instance as a debt secured by a mortgage was held to have preference over wage debts under the New York and Federal laws. The constitutionality of a California statute was upheld which required contractors to give bonds to cover debts for wages and materials.

Under the employing of aliens, a Massachusetts law was upheld which directed preference to citizen labor on public works. A Missouri law was also upheld which permitted workers employed on election day in parts of the state in which they did not reside, to cast their vote at their temporary stopping place.

Numerous other decisions were handed down regarding employer's liability, employment agencies, relief associations, Sunday labor, etc. On the whole, the decisions were of a much more liberal cast than those of a few years ago.

HARRY W. LAIDLER, PH.D.

ARBITRATION IN LABOR DISPUTES

SUMMARY OF ANTI-STRIKE AND INDUSTRIAL CONCILIATION LEGISLATION RELATIVE TO PUBLIC UTILITIES, BY COUNTRIES ¹

The following statement shows in a summary and comparative form the status of existing legislation relative to strikes and the maintenance of industrial peace on the railways and in other public-utility services of the leading commercial nations of the world. A comparison is made of the following features of such legislation:

1. Legal machinery for the adjustment of disputes.
2. Conditions under which lockouts or strikes are prohibited.
3. Penalties for the enforcement of anti-strike legislation.
4. Remarks.

¹ From "Railway Strikes and Lockouts" Bulletin, U. S. Board of Mediation and Conciliation, Nov. 1, 1916, pp. 7-16.

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AUSTRALIA

1. Court of conciliation and arbitration, consisting of a president, who is a member of the Federal supreme court, and judges of the Federal or a State supreme court, appointed by the president and his deputies. Provision is also made for conciliation committees of equal numbers of employers and employees; assessors representing the parties appointed by the court to advise it and local industrial boards, equally representative of workers and employers, presided over by a judge of the Supreme Court of the Commonwealth or supreme courts of the States. The procedure is varied. The president of the court may summon parties to a dispute and by conference aim to reach an amicable settlement; or there may be an investigation as the basis of an amicable settlement; or temporary reference of a matter to a conciliation committee or local industrial board; all amicable settlements have the force of a formal award.

2. The initiation or continuance of any strike or lockout by any organization or person is prohibited.

3. Penalty of 1,000 pounds against any person or organization responsible for a strike or lockout.

New South Wales.—1. In New South Wales the law is similar to that of the Commonwealth and of Queensland in that there are both an industrial court (which is a superior court and a court of record) and industrial boards for groups of industries or callings, awards by the latter being subject to amendment, variation, or rescission by the court.

2. Strikes and lockouts of all kinds are prohibited. An injunction may be issued by the industrial court.

3. Employer liable to a fine of 1,000 pounds; worker liable to a fine of 50 pounds, which is a charge on his wages. If striker was member of a union, it may be held liable for not exceeding 20 pounds of the penalty. Penalty on union for aiding or instigating strike is 1,000 pounds.

Queensland.—1. Industrial court administered by a judge appointed by the governor in council. Local industrial boards are also created on the application of a prescribed number of employers and employees. The court has jurisdiction over certain classes of cases directly and over others on appeal from industrial boards.

2. In the case of public utilities, strikes and lockouts are illegal unless a conference has been held before an industrial judge and proved abortive and unless 14 days' notice has been given after termination of conference and a secret ballot has been taken. In all other cases, 14 days' notice must be given and a secret ballot taken.

3. A fine of 1,000 pounds may be levied on employer or union, and 50 pounds on worker. If worker is member of a union, not to exceed 20 pounds of the penalty may be levied against the

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union. Penalties are made a charge on wages and on funds of associations.

South Australia.—1. The judge of the industrial court brings parties together when any dispute occurs, and may make an award in trades where there is none in force, or may change an existing award. When sitting to make a final adjudication, two assessors, representing the respective parties to the dispute, assist the judge if he thinks fit.

2. All strikes and lockouts are illegal.

3. A fine of 500 pounds may be levied against an association and a similar fine of 500 pounds against a person, or three months' imprisonment. Fine of 20 pounds or three months' imprisonment for picketing. Fines are made a charge against funds of associations and on wages over and above 2 pounds a week. An employer who refuses to employ or a worker who refuses to accept work, where there is an industrial agreement or award in operation, may be fined.

Tasmania.—1. Governor appoints wages boards. Determination of wages boards may be suspended by the governor, and the boards are then required to review their action. Appeals may be taken from the wages boards to the supreme court. No provision is made for conciliation.

2. All strikes and lockouts in wages boards trades on account of any matter as to which a determination has been reached.

3. A fine of 500 pounds may be levied against an organization and 20 pounds against an individual.

Western Australia.—1. The court of arbitration consists of a judge of the supreme court and two representatives from employers and employees, all three being appointed by the governor. No provision is made for local tribunals and matters come directly before the court of arbitration or the presiding judge.

2. Strikes and lockouts are illegal. An employer cannot discharge a worker nor can a worker cease work (1) before a reasonable time has elapsed for matter to be dealt with by the court, or (2) during the time the proceedings in court are pending.

3. A fine of 100 pounds may be levied against industrial union or employer, and of 10 pounds against worker.

NEW ZEALAND

1. (a) A court of arbitration, consisting of three members appointed by the governor to serve for three years; one "judge of the court" to have the tenure, status and emoluments of a judge of the supreme court, and one each nominated by unions of employers and workmen, respectively. Councils of conciliation, consisting of a conciliation commissioner appointed by the governor for a term of 3 years, to have jurisdiction within a designated industrial district, and 1 to 3 assessors appointed by

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the commissioner for the occasion, on the nomination of the parties applying for a conciliation council, a like number to be appointed on the nomination of the respondents. Boards of investigation appointed by court of arbitration. The procedure is for a council of conciliation when requested to attempt to adjust the controversy. Failing in this, the matter may be referred to the court of arbitration, which shall make a determination. Dispute involving workers on the Government railways or affecting more than one industrial district may be brought before the court in the first instance by application of a Union of railway employees in the one case and of any party to the dispute in the other.

2. (a) Under the industrial conciliation and arbitration amendment of 1908, which applies only to cases where an award or an industrial agreement is in force, strikes and lockouts are prohibited.

(b) Under the labor disputes investigation act of 1913, which applies only to cases where there is not an existing award or industrial agreement notice must be given to the minister, who must refer matter to an industrial commissioner or committee. If no settlement is effected within 14 days from delivery of notice to the minister, the labor department conducts a secret ballot, and then 7 days must elapse before cessation of work.

3. (a) Employer liable to 500 pounds fine and employee to 10 pounds. In the case of public utilities the penalty to the worker is 25 pounds. For encouraging or instigating a strike or lockout the scale of fines is: Worker, 10 pounds; employer or union, 200 pounds. The wages of workers may be attached for fines.

(b) Penalty for striking or locking out before notice is given or before expiration of 7 days from the secret ballot, 10 pounds to a worker and 500 pounds to employer. Wages of worker may be attached.

4. At any time during the progress of a strike, 5 per cent. of the workers concerned may demand a secret ballot on any question relating to the strike.

AUSTRIA

1. . . .
2. Strikes and lockouts on public utilities are prohibited.
3. Union may be dissolved and funds and property seized.
4. Before forming a union, the organization must notify the Government authorities and send them a copy of the constitution and by-laws. The authorities may then forbid the formation of the union if they consider it will be dangerous to the state.

BELGIUM

1. Trade unions of employees of public utilities are permitted under Government supervision. Employees may present griev-

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ances or requests to the minister of railways, posts and telegraph through official channels.

2. Strikes and lockouts prohibited on railroads and in all forms of the public service (railway, postal, telegraph, and telephone service, all of which are under state control).

3. Imprisonment or fine.

4. There has been no serious strike on Belgian railroads since their establishment. This is due to the fact that positions on the railways are much sought after because of stability of employment, pensions, and on account of the prestige of being in the Government service.

CANADA

1. The law is administered by the minister of labor and is under the immediate direction of the registrar of boards of conciliation and investigation appointed by the governor in council. Boards of conciliation and investigation are appointed by the minister of labor, one member being nominated by each party to the dispute, and the third by these two. If nominations are not made in due time, the minister appoints on his own motion. Jurisdiction by the minister is obtained by the request of either party for the appointment of a board of conciliation and investigation.

2. Strikes and lockouts are illegal in public utilities and mines until after an investigation by a Government board and the publication of its report.

3. A fine ranging from 2 pounds to 10 pounds may be levied on each worker and from 20 pounds to 200 pounds on each employer, for each day an illegal strike or lockout continues. Penalties are not imposed by the Government but must be enforced by the injured party to the dispute.

4. The object sought in publishing the report of boards of investigation is to enlist the coercive force of public opinion upon the side of the right as found by the board.

DENMARK

1. By a law passed in 1910 provision is made for the appointment of a permanent arbitration court of 6 members selected from organization of employers and employees with a president and vice-president with qualifications of an ordinary judge. It is the duty of this court to make the parties to a dispute respect any agreement between them. A Government conciliator is appointed for 2 years. Whenever a strike or lockout is impending (public notice being compulsory) it is his duty to intervene and attempt to effect a settlement.

2. Strikes or lockouts are prohibited in cases where court awards or trade agreements are broken. In cases where no

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trade agreements exist, a strike is legal, but public notice must be given before it is started.

3. Fines.

ENGLAND

1. There is no legal machinery, strictly speaking, for the adjustment of wage disputes on the railways, but effective machinery is in existence which is quasi official, consisting of an agreement between the railroads and their employees, which was originally negotiated by a representative of the Board of Trade in 1907. It was amended as the result of conferences and the report of a royal commission in 1911. These changes were the outcome of the railway strike in 1911. By this agreement boards are created, with equal representation of railroads and employees, to perform the conciliation work not settled by direct negotiation between the parties. If a settlement cannot be reached, a neutral chairman or umpire, selected by the conciliation boards from a panel prepared by the Board of Trade, is called in and his decision is final.

2. No legislation.

3. No legislation.

4. The adjustment of disputes on other public utilities and in the mining industry is provided for in the conciliation act of 1896. Conciliators or boards of conciliation are appointed by the Board of Trade. Arbitrators are also appointed on the application of both parties, selected from panels of employers, employees, and "persons of eminence and impartiality" established by the Board of Trade. For conciliation proceedings the Board of Trade acts on its own initiative or by the request of either party; for arbitration on the application of both parties.

FRANCE

1. . . .

2. The only qualification as to complete freedom of action in the railway service is that any engineer, fireman, or trainman shall not desert his post during the progress of a journey. Postal employees and employees in shipping service controlled by the Government are prohibited from striking.

3. Desertion of trains between terminals is punishable with imprisonment ranging from 6 months to 2 years. Postal and other civil employees may be dismissed or suffer losses in pay. The monopoly privilege may be withdrawn from the shipping service on which a strike occurs.

4. In all occupations except those mentioned, the right of employers and employees to take concerted action in a peaceful manner with a view to cessation of work has been officially recognized since 1884. On Oct. 2, 1910, the National Federation of Railway Employees of France and the Federation of Unions of Railway Engineers and Firemen called a general strike on

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all railroads of the country. The Government, using its full authority under military laws, called for a mobilization of the strikers and ordered them to do military duty for 3 weeks. Their military duties were specified as the keeping of the railways under normal working conditions under the orders of their superior officers. This measure defeated the strike, which was called off after 6 days.

GERMANY

1. Means for enabling railway workers of all groups to bring their requests and grievances to the notice of the authorities have been instituted by all the state railway administrations in Germany under the name of workmen's committees.

2. Strikes and lockouts are practically prohibited on public utilities. There are no specific laws forbidding strikes, but rules and practices of railway and other public utilities administration make strikes impossible. About 90 per cent. of the organized railway employees belong to unions, the by-laws of which specifically waive all claim to the right to strike.

3. No specific penalties for engaging in strikes, but workmen are forbidden to belong to unions which assert the right to strike. All union organization and by-laws are subject to governmental sanction. The coercive force of the law is found in the fact that a railway employee who engaged in a strike would be dismissed or fail of advancement in his work. Every Government employee looks forward to attaining the status of an "official," and this is practically impossible if he belongs to or is known to sympathize with a trade-union which does not meet with Government approval.

HOLLAND

1. Delegates are selected from different groups of railway employees who are authorized to present the wishes and complaints of railway workers before the managers. Arbitration boards have been established for the enforcement of penalties imposed because of infractions of working rules and conditions.

2. Strikes in railway service are prohibited.

3. Imprisonment or fine.

4. Legislation prohibiting strikes was the outcome of a general strike in the Dutch railway service in 1903.

ITALY

1. . . .

2. Strikes are prohibited in railway and public service.

3. Fine and loss of employment.

4. Legislation relative to fines and loss of employment would not practically prevent strikes, because of the impossibility of enforcing the law upon so many individuals. The real restrain-

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ing influence is the power of the Government to call out the reserves and compel strikers to resume work under military law.

PORTUGAL

1. . . .
2. Illegal in public utilities until 8 to 12 days' notice has been given, together with a statement as to the causes for a strike.
3. Loss of employment.
4. In all services, except public utilities, strikes have been expressly permitted since the establishment of the Republic in 1910.

ROUMANIA

1. . . .
2. Strikes are prohibited in public utilities.
3. Imprisonment and loss of employment.
4. No employee of a public utility can join a trade-union without the authorization of the Government.

RUSSIA (BEFORE THE REVOLUTION)

1. . . .
2. Strikes are prohibited among employees of public utilities.
3. Imprisonment and loss of employment. Authorities may arrest or banish strikers without bringing them before a court.

SPAIN

1. . . .
2. Strikes are illegal in public utilities until 5 to 8 days' notice is given, together with a statement as to the causes of the strike.
3. Leaders and officials of labor organizations or concerted movements who do not make a declaration as to the causes for a strike are liable to imprisonment.
4. In industries other than public utilities strikes are expressly allowed, provided they are not accompanied by threats or violence.

SWITZERLAND

1. The Canton of Geneva has established a system of conciliation and arbitration. Conciliators are elected directly by the two parties to the dispute. If they cannot reach a settlement, recourse is had to an arbitration board under Government auspices. There is no law for the settlement of disputes in the Federal railway service.
2. Strikes are prohibited in the Federal railway service and in the Canton of Geneva whenever an industrial agreement or award is broken.
3. In the Federal service strikes are punishable by fines and reprimands. There are no penalties in the Canton of Geneva.
4. There have been no strikes on the railways of Switzerland since their nationalization in 1897.

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TRANSVAAL

1. The Transvaal law is administered by a department of labor. Boards of investigation are appointed on the request of either party to a dispute. The board has the power of the supreme court as to securing evidence, etc., but cannot make binding orders. Failing the adjustment of a dispute by agreement, the board reports to the minister of labor its recommendations, which are officially published and also given to the newspapers.

2. In public utilities, the mining industry, and in any other industry to which the provisions of the act are extended by proclamation, strikes are unlawful until after an inquiry by a Government board and until one month after the publication of the board's report.

3. Any striker is liable to a fine of 10 pounds to 50 pounds a day, and, in default of fine, imprisonment, or imprisonment for three months without the option of fine. Anyone encouraging another to strike may be fined 50 pounds to 250 pounds or 6 months' imprisonment. Any employer declaring a lockout may be fined 100 pounds to 1,000 pounds a day, or given 12 months' imprisonment.

4. The Transvaal law is based, as regards prevention and procedure, upon the Canadian industrial disputes investigation act of 1907.

TURKEY

1. In the case of a dispute relative to wages or working conditions, a conciliation board is organized, composed of six members, three representing employers and three representing employees. The boards are presided over by an official appointed by the Government. The agreements reached by these boards are enforced by the Government. If the parties to the dispute cannot agree, the employees are free to stop work, but nothing must be done by them opposed to freedom of action.

2. Strikes in public utilities are unlawful until grounds of dispute are communicated to the Government and attempts at conciliation have failed.

3. Imprisonment or fine.

4. The organization of trade-unions in establishments carrying out any public service is forbidden.

UNITED STATES

1. Law providing for the conciliation and arbitration of disputes on railways which interrupt or threaten to interrupt the business of the employers to the detriment of the public interest, under the administration of a board of mediation and conciliation appointed by the President. The board attempts mediation and conciliation, which failing, the board seeks to secure the submission, through an agreement of the parties, of the dispute

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to a board of arbitration. Jurisdiction is obtained at the request of either party to a dispute, or the board may proffer its services.

2. No legislation by the Federal Government.

3. No penalties against strikes.

CONCLUSIONS

It will be seen at once from this statement that among the Australasian countries the general tendency of legislation is to place a limitation, and with practically one exception, a prohibition upon the right to strike upon railway and practically all other classes of industrial workers. Complete machinery, however, has been provided for the settlement of controversies.

Another group of countries, on the other hand, such as Canada, the Transvaal, Spain, and Portugal, have not denied employees the right to strike, but have made the exercise of this right contingent upon certain conditions—a notification to the Government of the intention to strike or after a governmental investigation and report.

In the case of other countries, as Roumania, the right of railway workers or other public-utility employees to strike is absolutely prohibited, and no machinery is provided for ventilating grievances. Belgium and Holland also prohibit strikes but have devised methods for employees to take up grievances or requests with railroad managers. Strikes are not formally prohibited in Germany or Austria among railway workers, but are practically prevented by the control of the authorities over the trade-union affiliations of employees. In Germany, however, administrative machinery has been provided through which transportation workers may have a vent for their grievances. Strikes are not prohibited by formal legislative enactment on French railways, but are practically impossible, because of the policy of the Government in calling employees to the colors and placing them under military orders in the event of a strike. Italy depends upon the same policy to prevent industrial conflict on her railways. In Great Britain and the United States there is no abridgement of the right to strike. Both countries have provided official machinery for the adjustment of wage and other difficulties between the railroads and their operating forces. In Great Britain the opportunities for conciliation and arbitration under the conciliation act of 1896 have also been supplemented by a general agreement between railway officials and employees which makes provision for compulsory conciliation of matters in dispute.

ARBITRATION IN AUSTRALIA

The Arbitration system as we have it in Australia is the outcome of the failure of the strike as a means of settlement of industrial trouble. After the failure of the great strikes of the

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early nineties (1890) a sentiment grew in favor of governmental intervention in the form of conciliation and arbitration, and of wage labor boards. In Victoria in 1891, and in New South Wales in 1892, acts were passed providing for the appointment of such boards to which voluntary application might be made by the contending parties. But the awards of the boards had no binding force, and were applied for but little. The first Australian act whereby one party could be summoned before, and, presumably, be made subject to, was the South Australian act of 1894. Its principles have been largely followed in other Australian states, but strange to say it became useless in its own state and had to give way to the wages board system. Western Australia, after many acts and repeals, consolidated an industrial arbitration act of 1912, while New South Wales followed suit the same year. The Federal Arbitration Act passed in 1904 applies, it should be noted, in cases only where the dispute extends beyond the limits of any one state.

After the great strike of 1890-91 it was seen that the peaceful methods of adjusting disputes were more conducive to the welfare of the community generally than the suicidal methods of strikes and lockouts. The unions, therefore, turned to legislation as an effective means of improving labor conditions. Thus a general desire was shown for arbitration—compulsory, if not voluntary. Accordingly, the industrial legislation aims at the prevention of strikes and lockouts.

Strikes have not, however, altogether ceased, even in the places where heavy fines prohibit them. But it has been noted that, owing to arbitration, there has been a steady diminution in the number of strikes in the skilled trades. The recent strikes have been mostly among coal miners and other unions composed mainly of unskilled laborers.

But while there have been numerous strikes of the latter class of workers, the penalties have not always been enforced, unless public opinion dictated them. More than one government in Australia has lost power through enforcing penalties on strikers against the wishes of public opinion.

There is no doubt that the arbitration acts have done much in the way of abolishing sweating in factories and other places. It must be conceded that the great expansion of unionism of late years has been aided by arbitration, because of its compulsory rule that all must register in an industrial body before they can come into the court. The whole matter of preference to unionists may be said to lie at the door of industrial arbitration, since it compels the men to organize themselves in a union to secure advantages which those outside the unions cannot obtain. That is, I believe, the general opinion in Australia. But for the arbitration courts and its compulsory registration requirements, it is doubtful whether we would have now had the preference to

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unionists clause. Though at times it appears that the arbitration act does not work as well as it might, we must admit generally that we have secured advantages because of it. It has helped to make us strong industrially, and though strikes are not a thing of the past in Australia yet, they are not so frequent as they were in the days when compulsory arbitration was unthought of.

Towards the end of last year we had a great coal strike involving for the first time in Australian history every miner in the Commonwealth. Arbitration failed to settle that strike. The miners considered that they would not get a fair deal by arbitration—or at least they thought they would not get what they wanted—and refused to obey the mandate of the court. In the end, when the situation became desperate, the Prime Minister had to go to the aid of the court by personally ordering the coal-owners to give way to the miners on every point. That proved conclusively that where a union is strong enough it can openly defy the court and get what it wishes.

There has been of late a growing desire on the part of the employers to drag every case in dispute into the arbitration court. The capitalists say that "arbitration has become an essential part of our social machinery and must be retained and assisted" simply because they have discovered that all they have to do is to flood the arbitration court with cases against the men and the court becomes congested, and the cases cannot be heard till some time in the future. There are cases now pending in the Arbitration court which cannot possibly be heard within the next two years. Meanwhile the workers have to keep working under the existing awards, as any strike on their part while a case is registered, means that they are cancelled as a union and their awards are nullified, and they are again at the starting point.

To justify the arbitration system it remains now for the Government to appoint subsidiary boards to hear the fast accruing cases, but whether they will do this or not remains to be seen. It would seem then that the success of arbitration largely depends on the political party in power. Another difficulty which will have to be overcome is the action of the capitalists in prolonging the arbitration cases until union funds are depleted by law expenses. This is another favorite pastime with the wealthy institutions, and unless it is remedied, it seems apparent that by bringing endless cases into the court every union can be rendered bankrupt.

Arbitration has not done all that has been expected. It has not raised the wages of every individual in the land, but on the other hand, it has not retarded industry. It has arrived at a fairly scientific living minimum wage basis. It has, of course, shortened hours and forced payment for overtime at increased rates, while on the other hand it has had a steady influence

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on business and helped to bring prosperity to the employer as well as to the employee. The status of the worker is far ahead of what it was twenty years ago, thus proving that the wages awarded by arbitration have not been outpaced by the rise in the cost of living. The sweating system has been abolished, and competition in the labor market is a great deal fairer than it was years ago, inasmuch as female workers have been raised to a level which prohibits them being in direct competition to male labor, while in many industries there is equal pay for both sexes. The "preference to unionists" experiment has succeeded beyond expectation, giving to the employee an added interest in justifying his position as a skilled worker, while to the employer it has secured a continuity of labor, and the co-operation of the unions in finding additional labor as required.

But withal, with what objections there might be to the arbitration system, and I am inclined to think these are largely the result of war influences, there is not by any means a desire on the part of the Australian people to go back to the days of unrestricted competition in labor, or the period when a strike was the only method of settling a dispute.

W. FRANCIS AHEARN.

ARBITRATION OF RAILROAD LABOR DISPUTES IN UNITED STATES¹

The first law dealing with the adjustment of labor controversies between the transportation companies and the employees was approved October 1, 1888. It provided for voluntary arbitration and, substantially, for compulsory investigation. No provision was made for enforcing any award of the board of arbitration and the provisions of the act were never utilized. This law was superseded in June, 1898, by the so-called *Erdman Act*. It included only employees directly engaged in the movement of trains — engineers, firemen, conductors, trainmen, switchmen, and telegraphers. Mediation was purely voluntary, and the mediators had no power to intervene on their own initiative. During the first eight and one-half years following the passage of this law only one attempt was made to utilize it, but within the next five years its provisions were invoked more than sixty times, thus establishing the effectiveness of the law and fully developing methods of procedure under its provisions. The next step in legislation relative to mediation and arbitration was the passage of the so-called *Newlands law*, approved July 15, 1913. It created the offices of commissioner of mediation and conciliation, and assistant commissioner of mediation and conciliation, and further provided that the President shall also "designate not

¹ From *Monthly Review* of the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Vol. III, Oct., 1916, Number 4, pp. 21-28.

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more than two other officials of the Government who have been appointed by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, who, together with the commissioner of mediation and conciliation, shall constitute a board to be known as the *United States Board of Mediation and Conciliation*."

The law in general re-enacted the provisions of the Erdman law relative to mediation. It also provided for three-member boards of arbitration as authorized by the Erdman act, but, in addition, in order to meet the criticism that the three-member boards placed too much power in the hands of the neutral arbitrator, it provided further for six-member boards of arbitration, composed of two representatives from each party to a controversy, and two neutral members representing the public.

The immediate cause for the passage of the present law grew out of the demands of the conductors and trainmen which had been presented, in a concerted movement, some months previously, to 42 eastern railroads in what is known as eastern associated territory. The direct negotiations between the parties resulted in a refusal by the railroads to grant the demands of the men, on the ground that the rates of wages prevailing were adequate and that the employees were working under favorable conditions. In accordance with the usual procedure a strike vote was then taken, resulting in some 97 per cent. of the employees voting to authorize their representatives to order withdrawal from the service of the railroads unless their demands were complied with. In this emergency Congress enacted the Newlands law.

The case just cited was thus the first one arbitrated under the Newlands law. On July 26, 1913, the parties agreed to arbitrate, and six arbitrators were selected. The first hearing was held on September 11, in New York City, and the award was made on November 10, following. In this controversy 42 railroads and about 20,000 conductors and 70,000 trainmen were involved.

Under the operation of the various laws mediation appears to have taken the leading part. The report of Commissioner Neill shows that there were in all 48 cases in which the services of the mediators were invoked under the Erdman law from June 23, 1899, to December 31, 1911. Seven of these cases were concerted movements, involving many of the various classes of employees and, in each instance, a large number of railroads, in one case as many as 64 roads. Of these 48 cases coming under the Erdman law up to the end of 1911, 20 were settled through mediation, 8 were settled by mediation and arbitration, and 4 by arbitration alone. In the remaining 16 cases the services of the mediators, requested by one of the parties, were either refused by the other or direct settlements were reached between the parties after the services of the mediators had been invoked without employing them or resorting to arbitration.

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Since the Newlands law was approved, 56 controversies have been adjusted by the Board of Mediation and Conciliation. Of this number, 45 were settled by mediation and 11 by mediation and arbitration. In 20 cases employees made application to the board for its services, the railroads applied in 13 cases and in 15 cases the railroads and their employees made joint application. In 8 cases the board proffered its services, which were accepted.

THE COLORADO COMPULSORY INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES INVESTIGATION ACT¹

The Legislature of Colorado at its session in 1915 enacted a law embodying provisions relative to labor disputes that differs from any other existing legislation in this country, resembling in several respects the well-known Canadian Industrial Disputes Act.

The act in question is chapter 180, Acts of 1915, creating an industrial commission with a wide range of powers. Among the duties of the commission is that of doing all in its power to promote the voluntary adjustment of labor disputes, with a view to avoid "the necessity of resorting to strikes, lockouts, boycotts, blacklists, discriminations and legal proceedings in matters of employment." The commission may act directly, or it may appoint temporary boards of arbitration, providing also for their necessary expenses. Hearings and investigations may be conducted by the commission or a board, deputy, agent or committee, and findings, orders, awards, or decisions, when approved and confirmed by the commission, are to be deemed the conclusions of the commission. Power to enforce the attendance of witnesses, administer oaths, require the production of books, papers, etc., is conferred on the commission, or a board appointed by it, to the same extent as such power is vested in a court of record in civil cases. Parties to proceedings may be compelled to give evidence as witnesses, and evidence is not restricted to that of a strictly legal nature, but such as seems fit in equity and good conscience may be accepted.

Employers and employees must give at least 30 days' notice of any intended change affecting conditions of employment as regards wages and hours. If an investigation has been begun, and until the dispute has been finally dealt with by the commission or board, the existing status must be maintained, and the relationship of employer and employee continued "uninterrupted by the dispute or anything arising out of the dispute." Any attempt at delay in order to maintain a continuation of the status is punishable as a misdemeanor. It is also made unlawful for any

¹ From *Monthly Review* of the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Volume 1, No. 6, pp. 10-12.

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employer to declare or cause a lockout, or for any employee to go on strike, on account of any dispute, prior to or during an investigation, hearing or arbitration of such dispute under the provisions of the act. Suspension or discontinuance of any industry or of work for any employer not constituting a lockout or a strike is not forbidden; nor does the cessation of operations in any industry not affected with a public interest come within the prohibition of the act. Employers may declare lockouts and employees may strike without violating the statute if they choose to do so after a dispute has been duly investigated, heard or arbitrated under the provisions of the act.

Determination by the commission or a board are binding only when the parties to a dispute have either agreed in writing prior to action that they will abide by the conclusions reached, or have accepted the action of the commission or the board after the same has been made known to them. Penalties are provided for violations of the act by employers or by employees, as well as by any person who incites, encourages or aids in any manner acts by either employers or employees in contravention of the provisions of the statute.

Awards and findings in regard to labor disputes are within the general provisions of the act as to rehearings on points objected to, and appeals to courts. Such appeals lie to procure the modification or vacation of any order or ruling made, on the ground that it is unlawful or unreasonable, and such actions take precedence in time over all civil cases of a different nature. The only grounds upon which the court can act are that the commission acted without or in excess of its power; that the finding, order, or award was procured by fraud; that the findings of fact by the commission do not support the order or award; or that the award does not do substantial justice to the parties. If further objection is made, the matter may be brought before the Supreme Court on a writ of error for a final review of the order or judgment.

The effect of the act, is, in brief, to furnish a compulsory system of investigation, requiring the continuance of the status pending such action, whether applied for or not, no act in furtherance of a dispute being permissible by either party until the matter has been gone into by an official body.

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MOTHERS' PENSIONS¹

Only recently have the authorities in the United States begun to realize that the future of the nation depended on the sort of education and preparation for life which the children of today receive. It has become apparent at last that charity, founding asylums and orphans' homes cannot cope with the problem of the widowed, destitute, deserted or unmarried mother. Fifty years of experience with institutions has shown the shortcomings of the old system. It has been recognized that the child had best be cared for at the expense of the state, if necessary, in its own home and by its own mother. To this end in 1913 and since twenty-nine states have adopted mother's pension legislation.

These states are Arizona (1914), California (1913), Colorado (1913), Florida (1915), Idaho (1913), Illinois (1913), Iowa (1913), Kansas (1915), Massachusetts (1913), Michigan (1913), Minnesota (1913), Missouri (1911),² Montana (1915), Nebraska (1913), Nevada (1915), New Hampshire (1913), New Jersey (1913), New York (1915), North Dakota (1915), Ohio (1913), Oklahoma (1913), Oregon (1913), Pennsylvania (1913), South Dakota (1913), Tennessee (1915), Utah (1913), Washington (1913), Wisconsin (1913) and Wyoming (1915).

The following is an analysis of the various laws now in operation in the several states:

1. PERSONS TO WHOM AID MAY BE GIVEN

The law applies to any parent who, on account of poverty, is unable to care properly for a dependent or neglected child, but is otherwise a proper guardian, in Colo. and Neb.; to any parent or grandparent in Nev., to any parent or guardian in Wis. In other states it applies only to mothers. In Cal., N. J., Okla. and Mo. (St. Louis), the mother must be a widow in order to receive the benefits of the act. In the remaining states, not only widows but the following other classes of mothers with dependent children are included: In Idaho, Iowa, Minn., Mo., Ohio, Ore., So. Dak., and Wash., mothers whose husbands are in prison; in Iowa, Minn., Mo., Ore. and Wash., mothers whose husbands are in State Insane Asylums; in Ill., Minn., Ohio, Ore., So. Dak., and Wash., mothers whose husbands are totally incapacitated, physically and mentally; in Mich., Ohio (if deserted three years), Penn. and Wash. (if deserted one year) deserted wives. In Mich., are included also unmarried and divorced mothers. The law in Mass. applies to all mothers with dependent children who shall have resided in the state not less than three years. In Colo., Ore., and Wis., if the person having

¹ Based on Legislation Bulletin No. 41, New York State Library, May, 1916, and *World Almanac*, 1917.

² St. Louis Ordinance, passed 1911; amended 1915.

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custody of the child is not regarded as capable of expending the aid wisely the court may order it paid to some other person for the benefit of the child.

2. CONDITIONS ON WHICH AID IS GIVEN

(a) Degree of poverty:

In Wash. the mother must be destitute; in N. H. and Utah she must be dependent entirely on her own efforts for support; in Ore., wholly or partly dependent; in Ill. she may not own real property or personal property other than household effects. In Idaho, Ill., Mo., N. H., Ohio, So. Dak. and Utah the aid must, in the judgment of the court, be necessary to save the child from neglect; in N. J., from becoming a public charge; in Mass. there are few restrictions other than that the mother must be fit to bring up her children and that public relief is necessary.

(b) Home Conditions:

In most of the laws the requirement is made that the mother is a fit person morally and physically to bring up her children and that it is for the welfare of the child to remain at home. In Idaho, Ill., Mo., N. H., Ohio, So. Dak. and Utah, it is made conditional that the child or children be living with the mother, and that the mother shall not work regularly away from home. In So. Dak. she may not be absent from home more than one day in a week; in Ill. and Ohio the amount of time is left to the discretion of the court, while in Mass. the Overseers granting the relief determine how much work the mother may perform to give proper care for her family.

(c) Residence:

In Wash. and Minn. one year's residence in the county is required; in Idaho, Mo., N. H., Ohio and Utah, two years' residence; Ill., Penn. and Mass., three years' residence. Some of the states require legal residence in the state. Minn., two years' residence and Cal., three years. Cal. and Ill. require in addition, that the applicant be a citizen of the United States.

3. AGE OF CHILD

The maximum age of a child on whose account an allowance may be made is 14 years in Cal., Iowa, Mass., Minn., Mo., So. Dak. and Wis., also Ill., although the limit may be extended to sixteen years (16) if the child is ill or incapacitated for work; 15 years in Idaho, Utah and Wash.; 16 in Colo., N. H., Okla., Ore. and Mich.; 18 in Neb. and Nev. The legal working age is the limit in Ohio and Penn.

4. AMOUNT OF ALLOWANCE

The maximum allowance for one child is \$2.00 a week in Iowa; \$3.00 a week in Mich. It is \$9.00 a month for one child, \$14.00 for two children and \$4.00 for each additional child in

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N. J.; \$10.00 a month for each child in Minn. and Neb.; \$10.00 a month for each child, \$5.00 for each additional child in Idaho, Mo. (i.e. Jackson Co.) N. H. and Utah; ten dollars for one child and \$7.50 for each additional child in Ore.; \$12.00 for one child and \$4.00 for each additional child in Wis.; \$12.00 for one child and \$20.00 for two children, \$26.00 for three children and \$5.00 for each additional child in Penn.; \$12.50 for each child in Cal., \$15.00 for one child, and \$5.00 for each additional child in Wash., \$15.00 for one child and \$7.00 for each additional child in Ohio and S. Dak.; \$15.00 for one child and \$10.00 for each additional child in Ill. In Colo., Nev. and Mass. no maximum is set but the amount must be sufficient to care properly for the children, with the restriction in Nev. that it may not exceed what it would cost to maintain and educate the child in a state home. In Okla., the "school scholarship" is the equivalent of the wages of the child. In St. Louis the maximum is \$3.50 a week which may be increased temporarily on account of sickness or other exceptional conditions.

5. ADMINISTRATION

The law is administered by the Juvenile Court or some other county court with similar function in Colo., Ill., Idaho, Iowa, Mich., Minn., Mo., Neb., Nev., N. J., Ohio, Ore., So. Dak., Utah, Wash. and Wis.; by the county commissioners upon the advice of the school board in N. H.; by the city or town overseers of the poor in Mass. and by an unpaid board of five to seven women residents of each county appointed by the Governor in Penn. In Ohio, Neb., and S. Dak. the order granting aid is good only for six months unless renewed. In Idaho, Ill., Minn., Mo., Nev., N. H., Ohio, Utah and Wash. the court may at any time modify or discontinue the allowance. In Cal. supervisory powers are given to the State Board of Control, which can appoint three State children's agents with an unpaid advisory committee of three persons in each county; in N. J. all cases granted aid are under the supervision of the State Board of Children's Guardians. In Mass. certain supervisory powers are given to the State Board of Charities; in Wisconsin the State Board of Control. In Ill. and Ohio the law requires that visits shall be made to the homes from time to time by probation officers; in Mass. that the overseers of the poor shall visit the family at least once every three months and reconsider each case at least once a year.

6. SOURCE OF FUNDS

In all the states except Cal., Mass., Penn., and Wis. the funds for carrying out the provisions of these laws come out of the county treasury. In Ill. they are raised by a special tax of not exceeding three-tenths of a mill on the dollar of the taxable

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property of the county, and in Ohio by a tax not exceeding one-tenth of a mill. Reimbursement to the extent of \$75.00 a year is made to the local authorities by Cal. and in Mass. one-third of the amount in settled cases and the whole amount in unsettled cases. The state bears one-half of the expense in Penn. and Wis. within the limits of the appropriation which is apportioned according to the population of the counties.

7. PENALTY FOR FRAUD

Penalties are provided for procuring or attempting to procure an allowance fraudulently in Idaho, Ill., Mo., Nev., Ohio, Penn., So. Dak., and Wash.

PART FOUR

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS ¹

THE HIGH COST OF LIVING

Since the United States has entered the world war, the rise in prices, both wholesale and retail, has assumed almost incredible proportions, but the problem of living had risen in this as well as in all other countries long before the war. As far as the wageworker is concerned, the increase in retail prices is of greater importance. Data in regard to changes in rents and prices of clothing are not easily available, but for prices of food, a fairly reliable measure exists in the index published by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics. Since expenditure for food constitutes over 40% of the workingman's budget, they offer a fair indication of the general rise in what is termed "the cost of living." The index shows the changes in average prices, in percentages, compared with an accepted standard which is taken to be 100%.

Thus the index of retail prices of food for 1890 to 1913 is shown by the Bureau in the following statement taken from its Bulletin 105. (The average price level between 1890-1899 is taken as 100.)

1890.....101.9	1898..... 99.7	1906.....120.2
1891.....108.4	1899.....100.8	1907.....125.9
1892.....101.6	1900.....103.0	1908.....130.1
1893.....104.1	1901.....108.5	1909.....137.2
1894..... 99.3	1902.....114.6	1910.....144.1
1895..... 97.1	1903.....114.7	1911.....143.0
1896..... 95.2	1904.....116.2	1912.....154.2
1897..... 96.7	1905.....116.4	1913.....163.4

This series has been criticized as exaggerating the increase in prices of food, because it is based upon quotations of 15 articles of food only. Up to 1907 the Bureau of Labor Statistics published a broader index based upon 30 articles of food, and the increase up to 1907 was shown to be 120.6 instead of 125.9, as in the 15 article series. This seems to be a more reasonable series and it is possible that the increase shown in the above table is somewhat exaggerated (by about 5%).

More recently the Bureau has published a new index of retail

¹ For articles on Woman and Child Labor, Property Incomes, Social Insurance, Scientific Management, Co-operation in the U. S., Public Education, and Academic Freedom, see *American Labor Year Book*, 1916, Pt. V.

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food prices, assuming, this time, the year 1907 as a basis, and bringing it up to 1915 as follows:

1907.....100	1910.....118	1913.....128
1908.....108	1911.....112	1914.....125
1909.....108	1912.....119	1915.....124

Thus a further increase of 24% within the 8 years 1907-1915 is shown.

Even more sensational was the movement from January, 1916, on assuming the prices for 1915 to be represented by 100, the index from January, 1916, to January, 1917, was as follows:

January, 1916 ... 106	July, 1916 109	January, 1917 ... 125
February 104	August 112	February 131
March 105	September 116	March 131
April 107	October 119	April 142
May 107	November 124	May 160 1
June 109	December 125	June 160 1
Average 106	117.5	141

These independent statements, making a comparison in each case with a different basis, considerably confuse the picture as a whole. Independently they seem to indicate that prices have increased some 25% between 1900 and 1907, another 25% between 1907 and 1915, and on top of that, 40% between 1915 and June, 1917.

A combined index is unfortunately not published by the Government but may be approximately computed here, beginning with 1899.

1899.....100.8	1905.....116.4	1911.....148.0
1900.....108.0	1906.....120.3	1912.....154.2
1901.....108.5	1907.....125.9	1913.....163.4
1902.....114.6	1908.....130.1	1914.....167.4
1903.....114.7	1909.....137.2	1915.....166.1
1904.....116.2	1910.....144.1	1916.....195.2
		1917 2 ....234.2

The increase in prices of food between 1900 and 1917 was about 134%. During the last 10 years, 1907 to 1917, the increase was about 86%. During the last five years, 1912 to 1917, the increase was about 55%. Since the beginning of the war, i.e., in 3 short years, it was 40%.

Of course, there has been some corresponding increase in wages as well. But except in some industries directly connected with the war, it has not been as rapid as increase in cost of food. About two years ago the writer by a rather complicated series of statistical computations derived the following index of real wages for the period of 1900 to 1912. Assuming the average for 1890 to 1899 to be represented by 100:

¹ Approximately.

² Approximately for 6 months.

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	<i>Weekly earnings</i>	<i>Retail prices of food</i>	<i>Purchasing power of wages measured by retail prices of food</i>
1900	103.2	108.0	100.2
1901	105.0	108.5	96.8
1902	109.1	114.6	94.3
1903	111.7	114.7	97.3
1904	111.6	116.2	96.0
1905	114.8	116.4	98.6
1906	117.9	120.8	98.0
1907	128.0	126.9	97.7
1908	121.4	130.1	93.0
1909	122.6	137.3	89.4
1910	125.7	144.1	87.2
1911	127.2	148.0	88.9
1912	131.6	154.3	85.3

Data as to general fluctuation of wages were even more difficult to obtain than those as to prices of food. For the period of 1907 to 1915, the Bureau of Labor Statistics has recently published the following comparison, referring only to union wages.

	<i>Weekly wages</i>	<i>Retail prices of food</i>	<i>Purchasing power of wages measured by retail prices of food</i>
1907	100	100	100
1908	101	103	98
1909	102	108	94
1910	104	113	92
1911	105	112	94
1912	107	119	90
1913	109	122	90
1914	111	125	89
1915	112	124	90

In general these data seem to agree with the conclusions of the author, though the decline in purchasing value appears a little less striking. However these data only refer to union wages.

It is interesting that for the years 1912 to 1915, wages have moved forward about as fast as prices of food. But the sensational rise in cost of food began in 1916, reaching some 40% in two years. It is quite certain that wages have not followed as rapidly, and the real wages in 1917 are probably even lower than they were in 1915.

I. M. RUBINOW, PH.D.

MANUFACTURES IN THE UNITED STATES, 1914¹

SUMMARY OF THE CENSUS OF MANUFACTURES, 1904, 1909, AND 1914

<i>Item</i>	<i>1904</i>	<i>1909</i>	<i>1914</i>
Number of establishments...	216,180	268,491	275,798
Persons engaged in manufac- tures:			

¹ From *Monthly Review* of the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Vol. III, No. 5, p. 187.

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<i>Item</i>	<i>1904</i>	<i>1909</i>	<i>1914</i>
Proprietors and firm members	335,673	373,365	364,873
Salaried employees	519,556	790,367	964,317
Wage earners (average number employed during the year)	5,468,333	6,615,046	7,036,337
Total	6,313,613	7,673,578	8,265,436
Primary horsepower	13,487,707	18,675,376	23,537,139
Capital	\$13,675,580,874	\$18,423,370,000	\$23,790,880,000
Services:			
Salaries	\$574,439,323	\$933,575,000	\$1,387,917,000
Wages	\$3,610,444,953	\$3,427,083,000	\$4,079,333,000
Total	\$3,184,884,276	\$4,365,613,000	\$5,367,249,000
Materials	\$8,500,207,810	\$12,142,791,000	\$14,368,089,000
Value of products	\$14,793,909,563	\$20,673,053,000	\$24,346,323,000
Value added by manufacture (value of products less cost of materials)	\$6,393,694,753	\$8,530,261,000	\$9,878,234,000

EARNINGS IN THE UNITED STATES

The manifest shortcomings of an "average" as a means of describing wages have led statisticians to the use of classified wages. Instead of saying that the wages of 1,000 men average \$2.83, the statistician notes that of the 1,000 men, 28 receive a wage of from \$1.00 to \$1.49; that 324 receive a wage of from \$1.50 to \$1.99, and so on. By this means, a group picture is made of the amount received by all of the wage-earners.

There are a number of rather complete summaries of the wages paid in certain American industries—chiefly manufacturing.¹ A brief statement of some of the more important classified wage figures appears in the following table:

**THE WAGE RATES OF ADULT MALES EMPLOYED IN
MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES**

<i>State or Industry</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Total adult males</i>	<i>Cumulative percentage of adult males receiv- ing wage rates per year of less than</i>		
			<i>\$500</i>	<i>\$750</i>	<i>\$1000</i>
California ²	1911	107,950	7	30	63
Iowa ²	1912-13	48,710	12	61	87
Kansas ²	1912	55,993	16	72	87
Massachusetts ²	1912	420,524	28	67	90
New Jersey ²	1912	259,341	34	68	88
Oklahoma ²	1911	17,007	17	68	90
Wisconsin ²	1909	141,218	32	77	94

¹ The meagre wage figures covering transportation, municipal utilities, mercantile establishments and mines indicate that the wages paid in the manufacturing industries are fairly typical of wages paid by other industries in the same locality requiring a like amount of ability or training. See Scott Nearing, "Income," New York, The Macmillan Company, 1915, Chapter 4.

² Compiled from the Reports of the State Bureau of Labor.


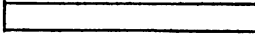



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Census ³	1905	2,124,069	47	79	94
U. S.—Iron & Steel ⁴ ..	1910	172,706	8	60	85
U. S.—Textiles ⁵	1910-12		60	90	95

The manufacturing industries of the North and East pay to the adult wage-earners wage rates of less than \$1,000 in nine-tenths of the cases. With the exception of California, the percentage of men receiving less than \$750, and the percentage receiving less than \$1,000, are remarkably uniform. The one-tenth of the adult male wage-earners who receive wage rates of more than \$1,000 a year are the income aristocracy of the wage-earning class. They are, for the most part, protected by powerful trade unions, by long terms of apprenticeship or by special training.

A diagram brings out, in striking form, the more detailed facts of the American wage scale. Massachusetts, one of the leading manufacturing states of the Union, reports the wage scale for a larger number of persons than any other state.

The Weekly Wage-Rates paid to 436,576 adult males in the Manufacturing Industries of Massachusetts, 1912: ⁶

<i>Weekly Wage</i>	<i>Adult Males</i>	
Under \$10	126,011	
\$10 but under \$15.....	166,440	
\$15 but under \$20.....	98,839	
\$20 but under \$25.....	31,416	
\$25 and over.....	13,870	

The diagram is illuminating. Almost exactly four-fifths of the adult males at work in one of the largest manufacturing states of the Union are receiving wage rates ranging from \$8 to \$20 per week. Ten men in 100 receive \$20 per week or over and three men in 100 receive \$25 per week or over. The great bulk of the men at work in the manufacturing industries of Massachusetts are paid a wage rate of less than \$20 a week.

The fact should be emphasized that these figures show not what people earn, but the amounts paid by industry to those who do its work. The wage scale is set in each industry. Let 1,000

³ Census of Manufactures, 1905, Bulletin 98, Earnings of Wage-earners, Washington, 1908, p. 11.

⁴ Report on the condition of Employment in the Iron and Steel Industry, Senate Document 110, 62d Congress, 1st Session, Volume I, p. xxvi.

⁵ Compiled from the Reports of the Tariff Board, from the Report by the Federal Department of Labor on the Strike at Lawrence, 1912, and from the State Reports.

⁶ Statistics of Manufactures for Massachusetts, 1912, Boston, 1914, p. 84.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

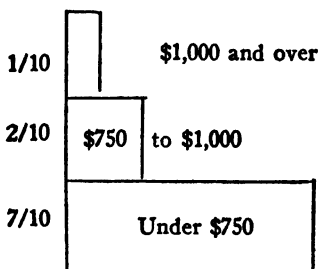
seek places in the factories of Massachusetts. They would find a wage scale already in existence that would pay to 500 of them less than \$15 per week and to 900 of them less than \$20 a week.

Most wage-workers do not earn in a year 52 times the weekly wage rate. Unemployment, varying in intensity from one trade to another, reduces yearly earnings a tenth, a fifth, or sometimes even a third.⁷ Wage-workers earn wages only while they work and work in modern industry is a gravely uncertain quantity.

The American wage—the amount paid by American industry to its workers—may be characterized briefly in these terms. A comparatively small percentage (from 5 to 10 in 100) of the persons gainfully employed in modern industry are on a salary

SUMMARY OF WAGE RATES IN AMERICAN INDUSTRY

(No allowance for unemployment)



basis. The vast majority of the employees (from 90 to 95 in 100) are paid a wage or its equivalent. Among those who work for wages, the great majority (about nine-tenths of the adult males) receive wage rates of \$1,000 per year or less. The wage-rates of two-thirds of the males fall below \$750; a third below \$500. These statements make no allowance for unemployment, which is a constant, irreducible factor. Unemployment due to lack of work alone is generally met with.⁸ Add to this the unemployment resulting from sickness, accidents, and other personal causes, and the proportion is still higher.

SCOTT NEARING.

⁷ S. J. Chapman, "Work and Wages," Part II, New York, Longmans, Green & Company, 1908, Chapter 15; Scott Nearing, "Unemployment in the U. S.," Quarterly Publications of the American Statistical Ass'n, Vol. I, Sept., 1909, pp. 580-585.

⁸ An idea of the extent of unemployment may be gained from the reports of the New Jersey and the Massachusetts Labor Bureaus, showing the number of days worked in the various industries. See Bureau of Statistics of New Jersey, 1913, Paterson, 1914, pp. 125-126; also statistics of manufactures for 1911, Bureau of Statistics for Massachusetts, Public Document No. 86, Boston, p. 137.

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LOW WAGES AND SICKNESS¹

No attempt to present the real meaning of the problem of health among wageworkers and their families can be complete without taking into consideration their economic status—the wages they earn and the income which the wageearner's family is able to receive—and comparing it with those standards which have been agreed upon as reasonable and necessary for the maintenance of health.

WAGES

Without taking into consideration the loss of working time for any cause, it has been found that during recent years in the principal industries of the United States, between one-fourth and one-third of the male workers of approximately 18 years of age and over earned less than \$10 a week, from two-thirds to three-fourths earned less than \$15 a week, and only about one-tenth earned more than \$20 a week. In textile manufacturing and some other industries the wage level was much lower. Native born and older immigrant workers from Great Britain and northern Europe earned somewhat higher weekly wages than did the newer immigrant workers from southern and eastern Europe. The wages of women workers were considerably lower than those of men. From two-thirds to three-fourths of women workers in factories, stores, laundries, and in industrial occupations generally worked at wages of less than \$8 a week. Approximately one-fifth earned less than \$4 and nearly one-half earned less than \$6 a week.

LOSS IN WORKING TIME

A conservative estimate, based on all of the available statistics of loss in working time, would appear to be that wageworkers in the principal manufacturing and mining industries lost on the average from one-fifth to one-third of the full working time during a year from all causes. This estimate does not include those industries which normally operated for short seasons in the year. The loss of working time varied greatly according to the industry, occupation, and locality, but it was greatest in those industries where the proportion of unskilled, low-paid workers was large.

ANNUAL EARNINGS

Annual earnings of wageworkers were therefore considerably lower than 52 times their weekly wages. According to investigations to which reference has been made it appears that in the principal industries fully one-fourth of adult male workers who

¹ B. S. Warren and Edgar Sydenstricker, in *Public Health Bulletin*, No. 76, March, 1916, pp. 33-37.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

are heads of families earned less than \$400, one-half earned less than \$600, fourth-fifths earned less than \$800, and less than one-tenth earned as much as \$1,000 a year. Approximately one-fourth of the women workers 18 years of age and over employed in the principal manufacturing industries earned less than \$200 a year, and two-thirds earned less than \$400.

FAMILY INCOME

Statistics of total incomes of wageworkers' families point to the conclusion that the average total annual family income in the principal manufacturing and mining industries has been between \$700 and \$800 in recent years. This average, however, does not adequately depict the real situation; for the conclusion is also indicated that one in every 10 or 12 workingmen's families had at the time of the investigations an annual income of less than \$300 a year; that nearly a third had incomes of less than \$500, and over one-half had incomes of less than \$750 a year. It is also apparent that, with the exception of the small proportion of workingmen's families whose heads earned \$800 or more a year, the total family income was considerably larger than the earnings of the father. It has indeed been found that considerably over one-half of wage-earning families were dependent upon some other source than the support of their heads. And, generally speaking, it is true that in proportion to the insufficiency of the earnings of the father the greater is the necessity for additional income from the wages of wife and children and payments from boarders and lodgers.

ADEQUACY OF WAGES AND INCOME

The significance of the above statistics lies in the extent to which actual earnings have been sufficient to provide for a healthful standard of life under existing conditions. Several studies by various authorities on actual conditions in workingmen's families tend to agree very closely that unless a family of the average size (a family of five persons—father, mother and three dependent children) has an annual income of \$800 or more it can not maintain a healthful standard. This conclusion is apparently confirmed by statistics of expenditures in workingmen's families which show that the point of adequate subsistence is not reached until the family income is approximately \$800 or more.

For women wageworkers, \$8 to \$9 a week has been agreed upon as the least amount upon which a self-supporting woman can maintain a standard of healthful living. This estimate is based on the conclusions and determinations of state minimum wage commissions and other investigating bodies.

It is possible that more comprehensive and detailed investigations of wages and earnings may point to slightly or even ma-

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terially different conclusions. But sufficient information of an accurate character exists to substantiate the observation of every one familiar with living and working conditions, that a very considerable proportion of wageearners and their families have not been able to obtain a sufficient income to permit of a healthful standard of living.

POVERTY AND DISEASE

From the foregoing it is evident that underlying all other economic factors affecting the wageearners' health is the fact of poverty. Working conditions, insecurity and irregularity of employment and income, inadequacy of earnings of heads of families and the necessity for earning of wages by mothers and children—these and other such conditions are but incidents of poverty. The importance of poverty is further emphasized by the facts that the relief of sickness and disease prevention are expensive and that disease is more prevalent among those least able to purchase health.

In all countries the partnership of poverty and disease has been seen. Levasseur found that the death rate in the poorer sections of Paris was 31.3 per 1,000 per annum as contrasted with 16.2 for "middle" class sections and 13.4 for the richest sections. Robertson's studies of an area in Birmingham, England, which was "peopled largely by unskilled artisans with low wages" showed that the death rate in 1908 was 22.5 per thousand in this section, while that for the whole city was under 15 per thousand.

Recent investigations tend to point unmistakably to the fact that poverty is the most important factor in causing infant mortality. In all campaigns for the prevention of disease poverty has always been the most formidable obstacle. In no instance is this better illustrated than in the campaign against tuberculosis. Realizing this fact, the Society for Improving the Conditions of the Poor in New York City has adopted the method of removing whole families to a "home hospital" in order to eliminate the conditions of poverty.

But poverty is not merely a cause of sickness; it is also a result of sickness. Sickness is so intimately related to destitution that it is often impossible to determine whether it is a cause or an effect. Records of the causes of destitution show that sickness is one of the most prolific. A recent study of the causes of destitution in 31,000 cases in 43 industrial localities in the United States developed the fact that charity relief was required in about 21 per cent. of the cases because of the illness of the family breadwinner and that 18 per cent. more needed assistance because of the illness of another member of the family.

Thus a vicious circle of economic disadvantages due to sick-

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

ness and conditions causing sickness is established. Overwork and worry, insanitary housing and community surroundings, and lack of nutritious food are frequent causes of sickness. Sickness, in turn, reduces the family's economic status by entailing extra expenses and loss of wages, weakens efficiency, and demoralizes the worker. There can be little doubt that such a circle throws more wageearners on the scrap heap than accidents, increases the necessity for charity giving, burdens the state with delinquents, and helps to fill the army of casual laborers with derelict recruits.

INFANT MORTALITY

The influence of economic and industrial conditions on infant mortality is marked. Though the available evidence indicates that the death rate of young babies is declining throughout the civilized world, it also shows clearly that this rate is uniformly highest in industrial districts. Thus in 1910, according to the United States Census (Bulletin 112, p. 24), the death rate per 1000 population under one year of age in the registration states was as follows:

Utah	82.3	Ohio	115.9
Washington	84.3	Michigan	137.5
Kentucky	87.9	Maine	140.4
Montana	90.4	New York	143.6
California	92.2	Connecticut	143.7
Minnesota	92.4	New Jersey	143.8

The high infant death rate in the industrial states is sometimes attributed to the employment of women, but the evidence to this effect is not entirely conclusive. For as a rule the mother works because the family is poor, and the dominating factor in infant mortality is poverty, with all the conditions of over-crowding, insufficient or improper food, bad sanitation, ignorance, illiteracy and low standards of life which inadequate earnings bring in their train. The results of investigations of Booth in London and Rowntree in York, England, upon this point are confirmed by those of the study of infant mortality in Johnstown, Pa., made by the U. S. Children's Bureau (Infant Mortality Series, No. 3; Bureau Publication No. 9), which show that the number of babies born in the selected year who died before their first birthdays varied with the amount of their fathers' earnings.

JOHNSTOWN, PA.

The following table shows the number of births and the mortality rate per 1000 births included in the Johnstown investigation classified according to the annual earnings of the father:

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				<i>Number of births</i>	<i>Infant mortality rate</i>
Annual earnings of father, under \$ 521				219	255.7
" " " " \$ 521 to 624				165	157.6
" " " " 625 to 899				385	122.1
" " " " 900 to 1,199				138	101.4
" " " " 1,200 or more				48	83.3
" " " " "Ample"				476	84.0
Total				1,431	130.7

MANCHESTER, N. H.

In Manchester, N. H., the Children's Bureau found substantially the same conditions as is shown in the following extract from the Fourth Annual Report of the Chief of that Bureau:

The findings of the bureau's earlier study in Johnstown, Pa., are confirmed in many respects by the findings in Manchester—the coincidence of a high infant mortality rate with low earnings, poor housing, mother's work and large families.

The mortality rate among the 1,564 live-born babies, studied in Manchester was 165 per 1,000 births, which is considerably higher than the estimated rate for the whole country.

Manchester is primarily a textile town, and the textile mills employed 36.3 per cent. of all the fathers of babies born in Manchester during the 12 months covered by the study. Of the fathers, 13.7 per cent. were earning less than \$450 per year; 48.5 per cent. less than \$650; 22.9 per cent. \$850 or more; 6.4 per cent. \$1,250 or more.

Of the babies with fathers earning less than \$450, about 1 in 4 died before it was 12 months old. The great majority of the babies had fathers in the wage group from \$450 to \$849, and of these about 1 in 6 died. Of the babies whose fathers earned \$850 but less than \$1,050, 1 in 8 failed to survive. Where fathers earned \$1,050, or more, 1 baby in 16 died in the first year.

Where families lived two or more persons per room, the infant death rate was twice as high as where they lived less than one person per room. The babies living in houses occupied by a single family died at the rate of 86.1 per 1,000, but those in tenements occupied by more than six families died at the rate of 236.6 per 1,000.

When the mother was a wage earner the baby's chances of living were less than when she was not. Babies of mothers who had worked at some time during the year before the baby's birth died at the rate of 199.2 per 1,000, while babies of non-working mothers died at the rate of 133.9. Babies of mothers employed away from home some time during the year after childbirth while the baby was still alive and under four months old had a rate of 277.3, while babies of mothers not employed during that time had a rate of 122.

Babies of foreign-born mothers did not fare so well as babies

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of native mothers. The differences of rates, however, are only partly accounted for by their lower earnings. The largest foreign element in Manchester is Canadian French, and among them the infant mortality rate, 224 per 1000 live births, is greater than that among any other group of the population, although their earnings are in general higher than those of other foreigners.

Sheer size of family seems to be one factor in this high Canadian-French rate, one-third of their babies being sixth or later in order of birth, while over one-sixth of these mothers had had from 9 to 18 children. These Canadian-French babies in families of 6 or more children died at the rate of 246.2 per 1,000 and the rate rises to 277.2 per 1,000 when only babies ninth or later in order of birth are considered.

Less important numerically in this nationality is the wage-earning mother. Comparatively fewer Canadian-French mothers than other foreign mothers are gainfully employed. The percentages of these wage-earning Canadian-French mothers at work outside the home and in the home varied slightly during the two years, but there is among the working mothers a stronger tendency on the part of the Canadian-French to work outside the home after the baby's birth than appears among other foreigners. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that artificial feeding is more prevalent among Canadian-French than in any other group of the population, and this prevalence appears to be one of the important factors in the high infant mortality rate among Canadian-French babies as compared with the rate of babies of other nationalities.

CONCLUSIONS

The conclusions reached by Mr. Henry H. Hibbs, Jr., in his study, "Infant Mortality: Its Relation to Social and Industrial Conditions," published in 1916 by the Russell Sage Foundation, are:

"It appears, then, that the fundamental cause of the excessive rate of infant mortality in industrial communities is poverty, inadequate incomes, and low standards of living with their attendant evils, including gainful employment of mothers. The employment of the mother in gainful occupations is simply the remedy for these evils or adverse conditions which the working people in industrial communities have adopted. Undoubtedly, this recourse has had an important effect on the problem, in many cases actually tending to reduce the rate of infant mortality, while in others having just the opposite effect. The primary question in considering the social causes of infant mortality is whether the employment of mothers and married women in extra-domestic occupations is, from the viewpoint of society, as a whole, a good remedy for poverty and an acceptable means of mitigating its influence on the health and mortality of babies and young children. From the point of view of the individual poor

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or poverty stricken family, the fact cannot be escaped that this effect may be both good and bad; bad, in that it causes the baby to be artificially fed, forces the mother to be absent from home, and in other ways lowers her efficiency as a mother; good, in that it increases the family income and decreases the influence of poverty. We are, thus, forced to conclude that the fundamental economic and industrial factor of infant mortality is low wages. The fundamental remedy is obviously higher wages. Other remedies, such as legislation restricting or regulating the employment of mothers before and after confinement, day nurseries, the instruction of mothers and school girls in domestic economy, and the like, all have their place; but the chief thing remains the provision of an adequate family income."

HELEN L. SUMNER, PH.D.

NET PROFITS OF AMERICAN INDUSTRIAL CORPORATIONS

The following figures compiled by the American Committee on War Finance show the net profits earned for the stockholders, after deducting cost of materials, labor, depreciation, overhead interest, reserve, amortization, and all other charges. All figures are official, having been taken from the companies' annual reports.

	1913	1914	1915	1916
American Can Co.....\$	4,876,178	\$ 2,916,339	\$ 5,029,373	\$ 7,962,932
American Smelting and Refining	9,756,540	9,271,565	14,402,733	23,352,248
American Beet Sugar Co.	881,055	452,074	1,424,654	2,445,189
American Hide and Leather	475,518	107,305	959,974	1,643,366
American Locomotive Co.	6,185,806	2,076,127	1,491,980	10,769,439
American Steel Foundries	1,038,592	231,481	219,574	3,413,057
American Woolen Co....	1,179,791	2,788,602	4,080,565	5,863,819
American Writing Paper Co.	229,190	108,310	124,956	2,524,378
Armour & Co.....	6,028,197	7,509,908	11,000,000	20,100,000
Atlas Powder Co.....	322,888	294,160	1,671,762	2,939,790
Baldwin Locomotive....	4,017,800	850,280	2,827,816	5,982,517
Bethlehem Steel Cor....	5,122,703	5,590,020	17,762,313	43,592,968
Barrett Co. (American Coal Prod. Co.).....	1,835,811	1,220,476	2,482,236	4,247,858
Brown Shoe Co.....	710,464	495,890	240,322	1,467,757
Central Leather Co.....	4,386,345	4,376,924	5,626,897	15,489,201
Colorado Fuel and Iron Co.	1,727,122	905,968	334,611	2,301,171
Crucible Steel Co.....	4,905,886	1,015,039	3,073,750	13,223,655
Cuban-American Sugar Co.	356,887	2,705,733	5,594,048	8,225,112
E. I. du Pont de Nemours Powder Co....	4,582,075	4,331,793	57,257,308	82,107,693
General Chemical Co....	2,809,442	2,857,898	5,958,746	12,286,826
Hercules Powder Co....	1,017,212	1,247,255	4,886,102	16,658,873
International Agricultural Cor.....	161,493	84,908	160,022	1,279,322
International Nickel....	5,009,120	4,792,665	5,598,072	11,748,279
Lackawanna Steel Co...	2,755,883	1,652,444	2,409,108	12,212,224

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	1913	1914	1915	1916
Morris & Co. (packers).....	1,916,997	2,205,672	2,321,415	2,832,212
National Enameling & Stamping Co.....	761,274	548,756	913,742	2,417,803
New York Air Brake Co.....	654,512	641,046	1,248,285	8,214,962
Phelps Dodge Cor.....	7,907,710	6,664,839	9,720,475	21,974,263
Pittsburgh Steel Co.....	1,198,669	416,551	858,160	4,564,068
Railway Steel Spring Co.....	1,121,660	374,454	1,263,229	3,710,805
Republic Iron & Steel Co.....	2,101,300	1,028,748	2,515,819	14,789,163
Sloss-Sheffield Iron & Steel Co.....	678,466	490,139	522,388	1,912,624
Swift and Co.....	9,250,000	9,450,000	14,087,500	20,465,000
Texas Oil Co.....	6,663,123	6,185,974	6,393,327	13,898,861
U. S. Steel Cor.....	81,216,985	22,496,768	75,833,833	271,531,730
U. S. Cast Iron Pipe.....	564,427	59,868	381,887	1,208,641
United Fruit Co.....	5,215,631	2,264,911	5,900,522	11,943,151
U. S. Industrial Alcohol	662,358	653,264	2,172,013	4,884,587
U. S. Smelt. Refining & Mining Co.....	3,585,588	2,265,641	6,592,324	8,898,464
Westinghouse Air-Brake Co.....	5,255,359	2,482,994	1,575,839	9,296,103
Westinghouse Elec. & Manufacturing Co. ..	3,164,032	4,058,809	2,009,744	9,666,789
Wilson & Co. (packers).....	1,264,245	1,511,528	2,463,732	4,913,873
Total	\$204,233,749	\$124,242,956	\$222,588,355	\$729,982,235

DISTRIBUTION OF RAILROAD OWNERSHIP IN THE UNITED STATES

The fifty largest railroad stockholders own 18,174,108 shares, or more than one-fifth of all the outstanding railroad stock.

These fifty stockholders represent less than one-ten thousandth of all the stockholders shown on the books of the railroads, yet they own more than a controlling interest in practically all the railroads in the United States.

This controlling interest not only puts them in a position to dictate the transportation policy of the entire country, but also enables them to "skim the cream" off the railroad's earnings. Every time the railroads make a loan, every time a construction contract is to be let, every time there is a railroad consolidation, these interests are "in on the ground floor."

The concentration of ownership is in reality much greater than is shown by the figures quoted above, because I have had access only to the lists of the twenty largest stockholders of each of the railroads. The smaller holdings of course do not appear on these lists. Consequently it is a decided understatement to say that fifty stockholders own more than one-fifth of all the railroad stocks.

The 169 railroads with revenues over \$100,000 have issued 83,418,796 shares of stock.

The 25 largest individual stockholders own 3,748,929 shares.

The 10 largest trust companies own 5,096,233 shares.

The 15 leading railroads own 9,328,946 shares.

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Some idea of the enormous size of the holdings can be illustrated by showing what the four largest individual stockholders own. It must be remembered, however, that this does not include their smaller holdings, but covers only the roads on which they appear as among the twenty largest holders.

William K. Vanderbilt is still the largest individual holder with 446,770 shares valued at \$54,823,126.

H. C. Frick comes next with 384,601 shares worth \$33,200,660.

George F. Baker is third with 191,843 shares worth \$30,349,318. The great value of his stock is due to his ownership of 80,793 shares of the D. L. & W. which is quoted at \$226 a share.

Charles W. Harkness, who died last spring absolutely unknown to the public, had 241,160 shares valued at \$24,539,400.

Many of the largest individual stockholders are not named on the lists which the railroads file with the Interstate Commerce Commission. For example, it is known that John D. Rockefeller is one of the largest owners of the Western Maryland Railroad, but his name does not appear on the list, although it includes all who own more than 2,300 shares. Instead we find the name of W. P. Eaton, with 213,786 shares, and it's a fair guess that these belong to Mr. Rockefeller.

It is these large stockholders and the bankers who pull the strings that make the railroad presidents dance. When railroad strikes come the public should put the blame for it where it belongs—on the heads of these plutocrats.

If the railroad presidents really had the say, there would be no strikes, for during a strike the presidents have to sweat blood.

But with their capitalist bosses it is a matter of supreme indifference whether there is a strike or not. They care nothing for the welfare of their employees, for the hardships of the public, or for the riot and bloodshed that is the sure accompaniment of a nation-wide strike. They do not work even one hour a day and are indifferent whether their employees work ten or sixteen hours. Their food will not be cut off by a strike. They will not have to hear the cries of hungry mothers and children or face the angry mobs at the freight yards. Safely on their palatial steam yachts, they can run away until the storm is over and the national transportation machinery is at work again grinding out dividends for them.

THE FIFTY LARGEST RAILROAD STOCKHOLDERS

This statement includes only amounts of shares shown on the lists of the twenty stockholders of each road, which are filed with the Interstate Commerce Commission.

INDIVIDUALS

William K. Vanderbilt, 446,770 shares; Henry C. Frick, 384,601; Charles W. Harkness (Estate), 241,160; Walter Wilson, 239,288; S. Davies War-

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field, 224,699; W. P. Eaton, 218,786; George F. Baker, 191,843; George J. Gould, 189,867; Marvin Hughitt, 149,200; Bertram Cutler, 139,603; John Axten, 113,800; H. L. Utter, 103,760; F. W. Vanderbilt, 107,510; Thomas W. Joyce, 106,961; P. A. B. Widener (Estate), 103,500; Jay Gould, 101,200; A. H. Cafe (Estate), 88,840; Mrs. F. A. V. Twombly, 81,010; Henry M. Flagler (Estate), 79,991; William Edenborn (Estate), 79,806; William Waldorf Astor, 65,729; Henry Walters, 78,608; Mrs. Mary W. Harriman, 73,240; Morton F. Plant, 66,647; A. C. James, 62,511.

TRUST COMPANIES

Central Trust Company—New York, 1,786,328; Standard Trust Company—New York, 1,006,185; Farmers' Loan & Trust Company—New York, 854,869; New York Trust Company, 879,191; Equitable Trust Company—New York, 871,357; United States Trust Company—New York, 338,462; Bankers' Trust Company—New York, 145,434; Guaranty Trust Company—New York, 136,703; Girard Trust Company—Philadelphia, 68,240; Metropolitan Trust Company—New York, 56,524.

RAILROAD COMPANIES

Pennsylvania Railroad, 3,879,013; New York Central and Hudson River, 644,452; Denver and Rio Grande, 624,900; Lake Shore and Michigan Southern, 597,241; Pennsylvania Company, 499,646; Missouri Pacific, 443,363; Southern Pacific, 417,207; Oregon Short Line, 394,006; Union Pacific, 378,678; New Haven, 376,897; New York Central, 299,886; Northern Pacific, 199,995; Great Northern, 199,995; Atlantic Coast Line, 198,779; Atchafson, 174,995.

BASIL M. MANLY.

OCCUPATIONAL DISEASES

Occupational Diseases, also termed "Industrial Diseases," "Diseases of Dangerous Trades," "Vocational Maladies," etc., are those maladies which are due to specific conditions in industry or occupations.

While the knowledge that certain conditions in occupations lead to definite pathological conditions or symptoms has been known from the time of Hippocrates, and diseases of various artisans have been mentioned from time to time by ancient and medieval physicians,—the first treatise on the subject was written by the Italian, Bernardino Ramazzini, who, in the year 1700, published his book on "The Diseases of Artisans." For nearly fifty years medicine simply followed Ramazzini's text and very little new has been contributed until the epoch-making book by Ludwig Hirt in 1871 on "Die Krankheiten der Arbeiter" was published. Since that time rapid strides have been made in the study of occupational diseases and within the last decade much progress has been made in this study, even in the United States, which has always lagged in scientific research. Among the American contributions to the science of industrial hygiene may be cited the work of Dr. W. Gilman Thompson, Dr. George M. Kober, Dr. William C. Hanson, Dr. Emery R. Hayhurst, Dr. Alice Hamilton, Dr. J. W. Schereschewsky and a number of others.

It is very difficult to give a scientific classification of occupa-

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tional diseases. There is as yet very meager data upon the causation, pathology and symptoms of occupational diseases in this country. Some give a classification based upon the organs affected; others upon the etiology of the disease; while others base their classification upon various manifestations of disease. Kober and Hanson divide occupational diseases into six large groups, as follows:

1. Specific Occupational Diseases (including occupational intoxications, occupational infectious diseases, and compressed air illness).

2. Systemic Occupational Diseases.

3. Fatigue and Neurosis.

4. Affections of the Special Organs.

5. Affections of the Skin.

6. Electrical Injuries and Shock.

Within the last few years a number of states (14) have enacted laws compelling the notification of occupational diseases. Among the occupational diseases to be reported are the following: anthrax, compressed air illness, certain industrial intoxications, poisoning from lead, phosphorus, arsenic, mercury and other compounds, and poisoning from brass and wood alcohol.

There is hardly any definite data on the extent of occupational diseases in the United States. In 1910 the National Conference on Industrial Diseases made an estimate of 13,400,000 cases of sickness among artisans and craftsmen, most of which were said to be due to occupational hazards. This, of course, is but an estimate and without scientific value. Some of the reasons of the impossibility to accurately estimate the extent of occupational diseases are the following: (1) lack of accurate definition and classification of "occupation"; (2) faulty mortality statistics; (3) non-uniform mortality statistics; (4) absence of such statistics in areas without compulsory registration; (5) absence of notification laws; (6) change of workers from one occupation to another. These and many other reasons contribute to the general lack of definite figures on the extent of occupational diseases.

There is another and very important reason why even the approximate extent of occupational diseases among workers cannot be properly estimated. The effects of occupation upon the lives and health of the workers vary greatly in their extent as well as direct causation. Some diseases, for instance those due to lead, arsenic, intoxications, or infections, like anthrax, glanders, etc., are undeniably due directly to the occupation; others, like tuberculosis in dusty trades, while practically due to the occupation still may at their onset or even inception be due to other factors. Again, certain neurosis may be due to the fatigue caused by the occupation or perhaps to the worry and hurry incident to certain occupations. Certain diseases, like bronchitis and pneumonia, may be due to exposure outside of the

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occupation, but at the same time also due to the lack of resistance and loss of vitality due to arduous and strenuous activity in the occupation.

It is evident therefore that it is extremely difficult to find the border line of occupational influences and to discover the direct or indirect causes of each or certain diseases. Nor is it possible to figure upon the extent of diseases from mortality and morbidity statistics alone. It is not sufficient to know that so many deaths have occurred due to certain diseases, apparently due to occupational conditions,—nor is it sufficient to know the number of diseases in hospitals or other places which may be justly regarded as due to the occupation. It would be also necessary to know the more or less extensive lesions and symptoms caused by them in the hundreds and thousands and more of the workers at present pursuing the occupations and not as yet showing any distinct morbidity, or at least going to the hospital or physicians for treatment.

There is considerable data as to the incidence of pulmonary tuberculosis among workers. Frederick Hoffman comes to the following conclusion that: "There is no escape from the conclusion that among the known conditions of industrial life, and the relative age distribution of wage earners of both sexes, there is an excess of mortality from tuberculosis among men of the ages forty-five to sixty-four, such excess largely, if not exclusively, the result of health-injurious conditions in industry." Hoffman also shows that there is a direct influence of certain dusty trades upon the incidence of tuberculosis among workers. This incidence of tuberculosis varies according to the character of the dust,—whether it is metallic, mineral, vegetable, or general.

A very interesting study by Louis I. Dublin, issued as Bulletin No. 207, of the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, treats upon the causes of death by occupation, based on the mortality statistics of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company for 1911-1913, and based upon the records of 94,269 deaths among employed white males, and 102,467 deaths in the same period among white females, at the ages of fifteen years and over.

In regard to tuberculosis of the lungs, Dublin shows that this disease is the most prevalent cause of death of all occupations combined, being responsible for 20.5% of all deaths at all ages. He shows that tuberculosis of the lungs is the most frequent cause of death in fifteen out of nineteen occupations referred to; that the proportionate mortality is highest among bookkeepers, clerks and office assistants, among whom it is responsible for 35% of all deaths at all ages.

Dublin comes to the conclusion that "there is a clear and direct connection between the cause of death and the occupation of the deceased," and his statistics seem to bear out his conclusion.

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Much greater study is needed, however, to determine the relations of occupations to mortality and morbidity of workers.

GEORGE M. PRICE, M.D.

SANITATION AND SAFETY

THE JOINT BOARD OF SANITARY CONTROL IN THE CLOAK, SUIT AND SKIRT AND THE DRESS AND WAIST INDUSTRIES IN NEW YORK CITY

Organized and established in 1910 after the great strike in the needle trades and the signing of the Protocol of peace, the Joint Board of Sanitary Control is the first institution of its kind.

The primary aim of the board was, as stated in Article Fifteen of the Protocol,—“to establish standards of sanitary conditions to which the Manufacturers and the Unions shall be committed, and the Manufacturers and the Unions obligate themselves to maintain such standards to the best of their ability and to the full extent of their power.”

The establishment of sanitary control in the two largest women's wear industries in the city was due to the recognition that an industry is responsible for the conditions existing in its establishments and that it is the duty of the industry to take care of and to improve the sanitary conditions of its factories and workshops. The establishment of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control was therefore, in a way, a protest against the inadequacy of labor laws, the inefficiency of their administration, and the difficulty of any outside force to control and supervise conditions within an industry.

The Joint Board of Sanitary Control therefore is an experiment in industrial control. It legislates and sets standards for all its industrial establishments. It endeavors to enforce these standards as well as all other legal standards in the industry by its own supervision and the voluntary efforts upon the part of the manufacturers and the workers.

Seven years' work have proved that an industry can better take care of itself. The improvement in the safety, fire protection and sanitary conditions in our industries has been so marked that it has fully justified the existence of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control and fully deserved the credit, recognition and praise given to it by the public and press.

JURISDICTION

Cities: New York (Boroughs of Manhattan, Bronx and Brooklyn).

Industries: Cloak and Suit and Dress and Waist.

Buildings	740
Shops	2,547
Manufacturers	2,394
Workers	73,985

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Employers' Associations: The Cloak, Suit and Skirt Manufacturers' Protective Association and the Dress and Waist Manufacturers' Association.

Labor Organizations: Joint Board of the Cloak and Skirt Makers' Union and the Ladies' Waist and Dressmakers' Union.

FUNCTIONS AND ACTIVITIES

- (1.) Safety and Fire Protection of Buildings.
- (2.) Fire Protection in Buildings and Shops.
- (3.) Sanitation.
- (4.) Education.
- (5.) First Aid and Nursing.
- (6.) Medical.
- (7.) Dental.

INSPECTIONS AND REINSPECTIONS MADE DURING 1916

No. of inspectors	12
(Temporary	10)
No. of inspectorial days worked	654
No. of inspections made	3,734
(Shops inspected	2,913)
(Bldgs. inspected	821)
No. of inspections on complaints	103
No. of complaints by office	60
No. of reinspections made	5,699
(Shops	5,314)
(Bldgs.	385)

GEORGE M. PRICE, M.D.

THE ECONOMICS OF THE NEGRO PROBLEM

When an economic status is once unsettled all things can happen. To the American slave's mind after emancipation came the realization that slavery was not inevitable or divine, and masters found that they could live and make money with "free Negroes." There ensued the slow but mighty oscillation which sought a new economic equilibrium. Possibly in this awful day of World War the battle simile will be most intelligible. The lines of economic onset stretched far and surged to and fro. The capitalists and landowners at the first onslaught retreated to serfdom and a nominal wage which was, all things considered, yielding little. The black workingmen turned their flank by the pushing forward of the house-servant and city artisan class. These artisans before the war had been used to hiring their own time, while the house-servants had some education. Both these classes were in position to take service with the highest bidder and artisans began to work on their own account.

The main line of landowners held at serfdom and peonage in

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agriculture but the flanks had to fall back before the house-servants and the artisans to a real wage system. The wages, however, were low and the lines of work for the artisan strictly limited. There are no figures earlier than 1890, but it seems probable that in 1880 at least 65% of the Negroes were still on the farms and 30% were servants. Moreover, a large part of this servant class was employed in rural districts. This leaves 5% or less of the colored people in all other kinds of work, and the development of this 5% is of greatest interest.

There are in the United States among Negro Americans breadwinners ten years of age and over. These are distributed as follows among the nine classes of occupations counted by the census:

1. Agriculture, forestry and animal husbandry	2,893,280
2. Extraction of minerals	1,199
3. Manufacturing and mechanical industries	21,421
4. Transportation	55,969
5. Trade	19,491
6. Public service (not elsewhere classified)	2,382
7. Professional service	7,245
8. Domestic and personal service	1,122,152
9. Clerical occupations	19,336
	5,192,535

It is not easy to compare this division of labor with the past because of differing classifications. If we rearrange the classification of 1910 to coincide as nearly as possible with earlier censuses we have this division:

OCCUPATIONS OF AMERICAN NEGROES (ESTIMATED)

	1880	1890	1900	1910
Agriculture	65%	57%	53.7%	55.5%
Domestic and personal service	30%	31%	33 %	31 %
Manufacturing and mechanical industries				
Trade and transportation				7.8%
Professions				2 %
Other occupations	5%	12%	13.3%	.....

This comparison is partly invalidated by the fact that in 1900 nearly a half million laborers were put in domestic and personal service, who in 1910 are distributed, mostly in agriculture and to some extent in other divisions, particularly in manufacturing and mechanical industries.

Admitting all difficulties of comparison these figures reveal vast economic changes in the colored group and in their relations with their neighbors.

The freedmen at first moved from farm labor to domestic service; then from domestic service to trades and professions. In the last decade there has come a counter movement, "Back to the Farm," and at the same time greatly accelerated movement into the trades and professions and into public service.

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The Negroes on farms today form nearly as large a proportion of the Negro race as they did twenty years ago, and while the proportion as compared with fifty years ago has fallen from perhaps 70% to 55.5%, it remains numerically very large. Indeed, there are more Negroes on farms in the United States today than ever before. But this army of nearly three million dark farmers and farm laborers is differently constituted today than formerly. In 1890, for instance, there were among the Negro farmers 120,738 farm owners; in 1900, 187,797 farms were conducted by Negro owners; and in 1910, there were 218,972 such farms, containing nearly twenty million acres, an area almost the size of Ireland, and worth (with its farm property) over four hundred millions of dollars. In addition to these there were 264,443 tenants paying a cash rental which shows a considerable degree of economic independence. The other four hundred thousand metayers varied from peons to prosperous farmers.

NEGRO AMERICAN FARMERS

	Number	Per cent.
1890 ¹		
Owners	120,738	21.7
Tenants	428,804	78.8
Total	549,542	100
1900		
Owners	187,797	25.8
Cash Tenants and Managers	275,804	36.8
Metayers	288,614	38
Total	746,715	100
1910		
Owners	218,972	24
Cash Tenants, Mixed Tenants and Managers	819,346	30.9
Metayers and Unspecified	855,052	44.6
Total	898,370	100

VALUE OF FARM PROPERTY ²

1900		
Farmed by colored owners	\$	179,796,639
Farmed by colored tenants		366,926,869
Total	\$	546,723,508
1910		
Farmed by colored owners	\$	440,922,439
Farmed by colored tenants		838,311,806
Total	\$	1,279,234,245

LAND OWNED BY NEGRO AMERICANS ¹

	Acres	Sq. Miles
Lands in farms of colored owners and tenants	46,632,305	or 72,862
Land in farms of colored owners	19,076,468	or 29,806
Area of Great Britain		89,018
Area of Ireland		82,378

¹ In 1890 farm owning families were counted; since then farms conducted by owners, etc. This makes a small discrepancy.

² Including 8% of Indian and Mongolian farmers.

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The servant class among Negroes shows the profoundest changes. It is, undoubtedly, decreasing in size both proportionately and numerically. Of the million Negroes classed under domestic and personal service, half are servants and waiters and a third washerwomen. The other sixth might be classed with the business men or the skilled artisans, including, as it does, such classes as hotel keepers and barbers.

We may now turn to those departments already mentioned where the Negro as a slave received least training, and where he needs most to increase his proportion if he is to become a normal modern group. There were in 1910, 640,545 colored breadwinners in manufacturing and mechanical industries. This is the class of skilled artisans and more or less skilled workmen. Over a quarter of a million are in the building and hand trades, 125,000 are working in lumber and furniture, 40,000 in iron and steel and 28,000 in clay, glass and stone.

The great increases in this work have come since 1900 in the saw and planing mills, tobacco factories, the dressmakers and seamstresses, the stationary engineers and firemen and particularly among the iron and steel workers.

Over 400,000 Negroes are in trade and transportation, which is a large increase over the number so engaged ten years ago.

Negroes in the professions and public service increased from less than 50,000 to over 100,000 in ten years. The largest group is formed by the 29,750 teachers, followed by 17,495 clergymen. After that, come 6,000 musicians, 3,000 actors, and 2,400 trained nurses. There are 1,000 physicians, 500 dentists, 800 lawyers, 700 artists and 800 charity workers. To these we must add 32,170 colored men who are in the civil service of the nation, state and city. There is some difficulty of comparison with the censuses here, but the discrepancy is apparently not large.

The increase of the Negro in trade is, perhaps, the most striking recent development. The number of colored people thus employed is 119,491, an increase of over 100% in the last ten years. There are 21,553 retail dealers, mostly conducting grocery stores, meat shops, coal and wood establishments. Over 56,000 are deliverymen and porters, and there are some 10,000 clerks and salesmen.

Turning our attention to the specific employments we have, first, the great groups where 100,000 or more are employed, led by the farmers and farm laborers with their 3,000,000 workers. Next come nearly 400,000 washerwomen and 230,000 cooks, followed by 200,000 general servants and 100,000 workers in saw and planing mills. Here we have three and three quarter millions of Negroes who represent the great mass of workers. Part of them, the farm laborers (the washerwomen and the servants) are the undifferentiated inheritors of the work of their fathers. Others like the farm owners and the workers in

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saw and planing mills represent the new era of economic development. Beyond these, if we take groups of 25,000 to 100,000 we have in order of numbers, the laborers on steam railways; the truckmen, cabmen and hackmen; the waiters; the deliverymen; the teachers, porters; tobacco factory hands; the workers in water transportation and street construction; and the carpenters and coal miners. This accounts for all but a million of the five million and more colored breadwinners.

Another way of appreciating the work of this group is to separate them according to the position they occupy in their work rather than according to the kind of work which they do. This, the census of 1910 enables us to do roughly for the first time. We may thus divide the colored breadwinners into seven classes. First, there are something over three quarters of a million persons who can be classed as owners, officials, managers and persons working on their own account. Professional men are here included, but not the government clerks; farmers paying a cash rental are included but not the share tenants. Next come 200,000 persons of which 30,000 belong to the clerical class and 175,000 are skilled artisans. Below the skilled artisans come over 400,000 workmen who may be classed among the semi-skilled, although on account of the uncertainties of the census it is a little difficult to know just what grade of work these do. Next would come 300,000 skilled servants: butlers, waiters, nurses, etc., who require some skill above ordinary servants. At the bottom of this economic pile we would put, first, 730,000 servants and washerwomen, and last, two and one-half million common laborers. Among these latter, however, are probably one or two hundred thousand who belong at least among the semi-skilled, but have been carelessly reported.

In other words, it would seem that fifty years after emancipation a little less than 12% of the Negro group had reached economic independence either through the ownership of capital or professional training. Among these are 218,972 farm owners, over 20,000 retail dealers and 6,000 capitalists and managers of manufacturing and other enterprises, and 20,000 capitalists in various sorts of personal service. To these may be added next, nearly a million people whose skill and experience give them a fairly assured place in the economic world. At the bottom are those three and one quarter millions of common laborers: servants and washerwomen who for the most part work hard and at low wages and must stand the vicissitudes of the crowded unskilled labor market.

OCCUPATIONS ACCORDING TO STATUS

Owners of land and businesses, cash tenant farmers, managers, officials and professional men	614,868
Skilled artisans and clerks	207,218
Semi-skilled workers	411,609

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Other tenant farmers	899,528
Upper servants	808,296
Servants and washerwomen	781,140
Common laborers	2,524,977
Total breadwinners	5,192,588

Two things were significant about the general status of the breadwinners among colored people in 1910. First, the fact that so large a proportion of the colored population were at work. There were 7,317,922 colored people ten years of age and over in the United States in 1910. Of these 71% were breadwinners as compared with 48.4% of the native whites and 60.3% of the foreign-born whites. This for the Negro is a larger per cent. than in 1900 and while it may be, as the census report of 1910 suggests, that the proportion of breadwinners is exaggerated by the inclusion of housewives on Southern plantations, yet, it is without doubt true that no portion of the people of the United States is so largely employed as the Negroes.

The second noticeable thing about these occupations of colored people was the degree to which women were workers. Of the colored women 54.7% were at work as compared with 17.1% of the native white women. Half of the two million colored women who work, are on the farms, and 850,000 are servants, laborers and washerwomen. In the majority of cases these occupations of women are auxiliary occupations to help the man of the family who is the main breadwinner. This is particularly so on the Southern farms where the tenant's contract usually provides for the work of his wife and children. It is also the case in cities where servants and women laborers are working to eke out the family income. There are also over 100,000 colored women in other branches of work, including 68,000 in manufacturing and mechanical industries, and 30,000 in public and professional service.

Since 1910, the most significant economic development among Negroes has been a large migration from the South. This has been estimated to have involved at least 250,000 and is still going on.

As to the reasons of the migration, undoubtedly, the immediate cause was economic, and the movement began because of floods in middle Alabama, and Mississippi and because the latest devastation of the boll weevil came in these same districts.

A second economic cause was the cutting off of immigration from Europe to the North and consequently wide-spread demand for common labor. The U. S. Department of Labor writes: "A representative of this department has made an investigation in regard thereto, but a report has not been printed for general distribution. It may be stated, however, that most of the help imported from the South has been employed by railroad companies, packing houses, foundries, factories, automo-

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bile plants, in Northern States as far west as Nebraska. At the present time the U. S. Employment Service is not cooperating in the direction of Negro help to the North."

The third reason has been outbreaks of mob violence in northern and southwestern Georgia and in western South Carolina.

These have been the three immediate causes, but back of them is, undoubtedly, the general dissatisfaction with the conditions in the South.

A colored man of Sumter, S. C., says: "The immediate occasion of the migration is, of course, the opportunity in the North, now at last open to us, for industrial betterment. The real causes are the conditions which we have had to bear because there was no escape."

These conditions he sums up as the destruction of the Negro's political rights, the curtailment of his civil rights, the lack of the protection of life, liberty and property, low wages, the Jim Crow car, residential and labor segregation laws and poor educational facilities.

The full economic result of this migration and its extent in the future cannot be forecast at the present writing, but the chances are that the demand for labor caused by the European war will result in a large rearrangement of Negro laborers and accelerate all tendencies in the distribution of that labor along lines already noted.

Figures like these are beginning to place the so-called Negro problem beyond the realm of mere opinion and prejudice. Here we see a social evolution working itself out before our eyes. The mass of the freedmen are changing rapidly the economic basis of their social development. They have not given up their close connection with the soil, but they are changing its character tremendously, so that today a fourth of them are peasant proprietors. They are forcing themselves into the trades despite the long opposition of white labor unions. As small business men, purveying principally to their own group, they are gaining a foothold in trade. As more or less skilled employees, they form a considerable part of our transportation system and they are rapidly developing a professional class which serves its own group and also serves the nation at large.

Many indications of the effect of this new development are seen in the peculiar incidence of racial prejudice. We hear today less argument about Negro education and more about sumptuary laws to control Negro expenditure, freedom of movement and initiative and residence. Politically handicapped, as the colored man is, he is learning to wield economic power which shows that his political rights cannot long be held back. And finally, in the division of his occupations, there is evidence of forethought and calculation within the group which fore-shadows greater cooperation for the future.

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Since writing the above there has been a series of important economic happenings involving the American Negro which ought to be noted.

Severe floods and the cotton boll weevil reduced Negro tenants in many parts of the lower South to great distress during the winter following the declaration of war. They sold their cotton at a low figure or had none to sell. When the price of cotton rose the plantation owners reaped the benefit and immediately began plans for the next season, calculating on labor at an unusually low price.

Meantime, a great foreign immigration of common laborers was cut off by the war and there arose in the North an unusual demand for common labor. The Negroes began to migrate. In eighteen months 250,000 left the South and moved into the North. They were chiefly attracted by wages which were from 50 to 200% above what they had been used to receiving. And they saw also a chance to escape the lynching and discrimination of the South.

Every effort was made by the South to retain them. They were arrested wholesale, labor agents were taxed \$500 to \$1,000 or more for licenses, and the daily press of the South began to take on a more conciliatory tone. A slow rise in wages has begun. The migration of Negroes, however, continues since the demand continues. It is probable that not for a generation after the close of the war will there be any great immigration to the United States from Europe. In that case the American Negro will have a chance to establish himself in large numbers in the North. We may look for migration of two or even three millions.

To offset this the labor unions have used every effort. The argument was that these blacks kept down the rate of wages. Undoubtedly they did keep wages from rising as high as they otherwise would have, but if they had been received into the unions and trained into the philosophy of the labor cause (which for obvious reasons most of them did not know) they would have made as staunch union men as any. They are not working for low wages because they prefer to but because they have to. Nine-tenths of the unions, however, are closed absolutely against them either by constitutional provision or by action of the local unions. It is probable, therefore, that the friction will go on in the North. East St. Louis has already been echoed at Chester, Pa., and in other industrial centers.

Thus, in his effort to escape industrial slavery, murder, riot and unbelievable cruelty has met the Negro and this not at the hands of the employers but at the hands of his fellow laborers who have in reality common cause with him.

W. E. BURGHARDT DuBois, Ph.D.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

THE LAND PROBLEM IN THE UNITED STATES

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The continually increasing cost of living and the continuous increase of rents bring home the land problem. The present world war with its unparalleled destruction of labor power and waste of food has called the attention even of statesmen to the problem of farming. Under capitalism, where private land ownership is the rule, almost all benefits from improved methods of agriculture and from increased prices of foodstuffs accrue to the landlord. Ruined farm tenants, tramping farmhands and starving city proletariat are the inevitable corollaries of this system.

The slow progress of technique in agriculture has been counter-balanced everywhere by the enormous increase of land values. While the output of agricultural produce grows but slowly, the prices of foodstuffs go up by leaps and bounds. The ten cent loaf of bread is already a fact, but a twenty, thirty, yea, even fifty cent "war bread" of equally small dimensions and possibly of lesser food value, may become a reality in the near future, if the imperialistic war continues long enough, and if the patience of the workers endures.

The supply of food under capitalist farming never keeps pace with the actual needs of the masses of the people who get only as much food as they can pay for. Even during bumper crop years prices of food continue to rise because private ownership of land and of means of transportation enable the capitalist class and the landlords to hang the bread basket higher every year. While the output of the farm crops in the United States increased from 1899 to 1909 ten per cent. only, their market value rose 66 per cent. during the same period, and the average value of farm land per acre increased 108 per cent. from 1900 to 1910.

A truly phenomenal rise of land values has been brought about by the present war. The value of each acre of land was estimated as follows:

	1912	1916	1917
Unimproved land	\$86.28	\$45.55	\$50.64
Improved land	57.89	69.45	74.52
Cultivated land .....	....	58.39	62.17

This means a 26 per cent. increase in the capitalized land rent (from \$36.23 to \$45.55) within four years, which means roughly \$700.00 additional burden on every 140 acre homestead. It means an even more accelerated increase in the prices of improved land. Both these phenomena are indicative of the strong grip of the landlord and the capitalist classes on the nation and the whole world's food supply.

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CONCENTRATION OF LAND OWNERSHIP

The control over the nation's food supply is being gradually concentrated into a few hands. The railroad companies, the shipowners, the stockyards, the produce exchanges, the large grain elevators and the cold storage houses are controlled by a few bankers and railroad kings who set the price and specify the quality of our foods.

Most conspicuous is this concentration of ownership in timber lands and in coal lands. The Bureau of Corporations reported in 1913 that 1694 timber owners held over one-twentieth of the land area of the entire United States and in the 900 timbered counties investigated they owned one-seventh of the entire area.¹ These 1694 holders owned 105,600,000 acres or an area greater than two and one-half times the land area of the six New England States.

Among these there were 733 holders each owning over 18,000 acres whose combined ownership reached 98,867,000 acres and 43 holders (those of over 300,000 acres each) owned more than 57,700,000 acres. In other words, *43 owned 55 per cent or more than half of what the 1694 owned.* Among these 43 timber barons there was a still smaller group of 16 (those owning over 1,500,000 acres each) who together owned 47,800,000 acres or an average of almost 3,000,000 acres.² Six of these 16 owned 39,480,000 acres or an average of 6,580,000 acres each. Three holders, the great land-grant railroads—the Southern Pacific, the Northern Pacific and the Santa Fe have in round numbers 35,000,000 acres, or on the average 11,000,000 acres each. These three land-grant railroads owned enough to give 15 acres to every male of voting age in the nine western states where almost all their holdings lie.³

In some of the most timbered western and southern states concentration of landownership has reached almost its climax. In Louisiana 62 holders held 2,243,548 acres of the total acreage of 3,100,000 of merchantable timber; about 56 per cent of the total land surface of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan was held by 90 timber owners; in Florida 52 lumber kings held one-third of the land of the entire state; in Idaho 7 owners owned no less than 70.8 per cent of the total timber.⁴

STEALING THE NATIONAL DOMAIN

The holders of timber lands together with the capitalist legislators and administrators fully deserve the name of land thieves. During the 141 years of our national existence they have stolen

¹ Bureau of Corporations, *The Lumber Industry*, Pts. 2 and 3, Washington, 1914, p. XVIII.

² *Ibid.*, p. 181.

³ *Ibid.*, p. XVIII.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 124, 139, 188.

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and squandered the largest public domain in the world. This land grab has been carried on both under the law and against the law. The well known commutation clause of the Homestead law permitted the applicant for homestead land to "commute" his entry at the end of 14 months and to buy his land at \$1.25 or \$2.50 per acre instead of getting it free at the end of five years of residence and cultivation. The workings of this clause are plain from the following official statement:

"It is common knowledge in the city of Duluth, Minnesota, that in 1892, 1893 and 1894 persons desiring to commute would take an ordinary dry-goods box, make it resemble a small house with doors, windows, and a shingled roof. This box would be 14 by 16 inches or larger, and would be taken by the entryman to his claim. On date of commutation proof, he would appear at the local land office, swear that he had upon his claim a good board house, 14 x 16, with shingled roof, doors, windows, etc. The proof on its face would appear excellent and was readily passed by the local officers."¹

The "Commutation" clause enabled land speculators who never intended to become farmers or ranchers to make entries for agricultural or valuable timberlands. Since the passage of the first commutation clause in the Homestead law of 1862, 35,000,000 acres of land were acquired under it. The government received probably \$70,000,000 for lands worth over \$350,000,000 at the time title left the United States.²

Likewise, the Timber and Stone act of June 3, 1878, has aided timber companies to assemble large holdings of land. This law specifies that lands taken under it "may be sold . . . at the minimum price of \$2.50 an acre." In practice, until November 30, 1901, the maximum price asked was \$2.50 as if the law had said "shall be sold." This law was denounced by the Public Lands Commission in 1880, by the Commissioners of the General Land Office in 1883, again by the same officer in 1886; by the Public Lands Commission in 1905 and by the National Conservation Commission in 1909. Congress, nevertheless, has never repealed this law and the national legislators have thus greatly aided the land thieves.

THE OLYMPIA FOREST RESERVE STEAL

A most glaring example of land stealing took place in the State of Washington in 1900 and in 1901. During those years a gross total of 715,000 acres of which 435,000 were then owned by the national government, was eliminated from the newly created Olympia National Forest Reserve in the Olympic Peninsula of Washington. This was done on the ground that the land was

¹ Report of Public Lands Commission, 1905, pp. 72, 78.

² Report of the National Conservation Commission. U. S. 60th Cong. 2nd session. Senate Doc. 676 VIII, p. 390.

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supposedly valuable for agriculture, that without such elimination the future development of that section of the state would be prevented and that the finances of the counties in which the reserved land was located would be greatly injured through the loss of taxes.

All this was contended in the face of positive proof to the contrary. As early as in 1897 a special committee of the National Academy of Sciences had reported to the Secretary of the Interior that in the Olympic Forest Reserve "there is no agricultural or grazing land whatever," and that "the character of its forest, which can be made to yield permanently vast quantities of timber, its wilderness, the picturesqueness of its surface, and its remoteness make the proposed Olympic Reserve one of the most valuable of all forest reserves which have been made or proposed."¹

In addition, the U. S. Geological Survey had reported that "the claim that in these heavily forested well watered regions the land should be classed as agricultural appears to be ill founded."² The findings of the experts of the Geological Survey were in the hands of the Commissioner of the General Land Office before the elimination took place.

Moreover, the former Chief Forester, Gifford Pinchot, was sent to the Olympia Forest Reserve to make a personal investigation. He, too, reported against the elimination of this forest reserve. In spite of all these findings the government parted with its most valuable timber holdings.

Instead of being in a federal forest these lands are now a Milwaukee Railroad forest reserve of 80,000 acres, a Lacey forest reserve, a Bradley forest reserve, a Weyerhauser forest reserve. *No settlers are allowed on these private lands.* In 1910 only 570 acres of the total of 374,000 acres, appropriated under the pretence that they were agricultural lands, were actually settled by 100 settlers.

During the present war the lumber kings are trying to sell their lumber at trebled prices to the national government through the Council of National Defense. Presumably, their lumber is "badly needed for the quick construction of modern vessels to meet the submarine peril." General Goethals evidently failed to appreciate the force of this argument of the lumber kings and he was promptly removed from the chairmanship of the government merchant shipping board.

In some monopolies, like the meat and bread trusts, the strategic points are packing houses, cold storage houses, refrigerating cars, watering stations, grain elevators, and flour mills. These agencies help the big bankers to establish complete control over

¹ National Academy of Sciences, Report of the Nat. Forestry Committee, Appendix A, p. 42 in U. S. 55 Cong., 1st session, 1897. Senate Doc. 105.

² Forest Conditions in the Olympic Forest Reserve, Washington, 1902, p. 14, in U. S. 57 Cong., 2nd sess., House Doc. 215.

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the farm produce and to dictate the prices both to the farmers for his crops and animals, and to the consumers for their food.

INCREASING TENANCY AND DECLINE IN RURAL POPULATION

Another effect of this policy is the increasing tenancy among rental farmers. While in 1880 the Census showed that only 26 per cent of the farms were operated by tenants, the number of tenant farms had reached 28 per cent in 1890, 35 per cent in 1900 and 37 per cent in 1910. In the Eastern Central Division tenant farms increased from 20 per cent of the total in 1880 to 27 per cent in 1910; in the Western North Central division from 20 per cent to 31 per cent, while in the most prosperous agricultural states, Illinois and Iowa, the tenants constituted in 1910 41 and 39 per cent respectively of the entire number of farm operators. On the other hand, during the twenty years, 1890 to 1910, there was a decline in the unincorporated population of 87 counties of Illinois and an increase in 15 counties. The decline in the state as a whole was 7.2 per cent.¹

Summing up the results of his studies in land tenure in the United States, Professor C. L. Stewart finds that the landless farmers have not shared equally with the landed farmers in advances that have occurred in land prices. He further points out that "the speculative element in land values has been a decided handicap to those without land, that owners hold the land at a value capitalized at a rate below that at which money may be borrowed for the purchase of land. The greater the discrepancy between the two rates, the smaller is the portion of the market value for which a mortgage loan can be negotiated on the purchased land. As a consequence of these conditions the opportunity for tenants to acquire land has been greatly reduced."² Thus capitalist prosperity inevitably breeds landlords and tenants on one hand, and farmhands on the other.

THE BOURGEOIS LAND REFORMS

A. *National: Irrigation of Arid Lands*

Among the loudly proclaimed land reforms in this country perhaps the reclamation of arid and of swamp lands stand out above all others. It may not be amiss, therefore, to mention here briefly the effects of the well known Carey Land act of August 18, 1894.

Up to June 30, 1914, under that act, irrigation could be applied to 1,343,193 acres. The average actually irrigated in 1913 was, however, only 699,183 acres, and the total estimated acreage included in the project of irrigation was 2,910,488 acres.³ The areas applied for by states under the Carey act up to June 30, 1914, were 7,682,445 acres of which only 3,692,230 acres had

¹ Stewart, C. L., *Land Tenure in the United States with special reference to Illinois*, University of Illinois, 1916, p. 118.

² *Ibid.*, p. 122 fol.

³ Teele, R. P., "Irrigation in the United States," New York, Appleton, 1916, p. 78.

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been segregated and only 460,054 acres had been patented to private owners. This slow process of the reclamation of arid lands is easily explained by the simple fact that irrigation costs from \$25 to \$90 per acre, the average in 1915 being about \$55.00 per acre.

On the other hand, the U. S. Census of 1910 reported that the average value per acre for irrigated crops was only \$25.08,¹ or *less than one-half of the money outlay needed for the irrigation of one acre.* As, on the whole, the value per acre of crops grown without irrigation was \$17.54 the difference in favor of irrigation seemed to be but \$7.54 per acre. Potatoes, sugar beets, alfalfa and fruit are among the leading crops of irrigated lands. The cultivation and marketing of these crops require a great deal of initial outlay in addition to the cost of land. These sums cannot be expected from poor settlers. Hence many of the irrigated lands have remained unsettled for quite a time. This has caused several irrigation works to decay.

As a rule, the farmers of the irrigated areas are small tenants renting land from water and land companies. The irrigation projects have been looked upon by Western politicians as a sort of pork barrel to match the much larger Eastern pork barrel of the "Rivers and harbors" bills. But the greatest pity is that the government irrigation projects have come to a standstill at a time when the constantly increasing cost of living demands the extension of the area of cultivation.

In 1914 the estimated revenue from the sales of public lands under the reclamation service was only \$2,823,510, the receipts from water rentals \$2,305,302 and the balance of bond loan available for irrigation purposes was only \$19,000,000.²

B. State Aid to Farmers

Realizing that it is hard for the average farmer to invoke the aid of the national government for the furtherance of his interests, there have sprung up movements among farmers favoring state aid to them in various ways.

It has been already stated that the big trusts, notably the railroad and banking corporations with their control over packing houses, grain elevators, docks and ships, have gouged the farmers. The state granger's movement sprang up spontaneously as a protest against these monopolists who had robbed the country through land grants and other schemes.

1. RURAL CREDITS

C. Other Commonly Advocated Agricultural Reforms

Rural credit schemes have been urged by reformers, farmers and governments. The usual effect of these land credit schemes has been to help along the stronger property owners to

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 181.

² Thirteenth Census of the U. S., Agriculture: Irrigation, p. 857.

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secure more property through a cheaper government guaranteed credit. It is rather significant that even the recently enacted federal land bank system does not contemplate to loan any money to tenants, but to landowners only. Great Britain has aided the small Irish tenants to acquire title to the land they cultivated as tenants through state credit. So has done Egypt and Russia.

The climax of even the best land credit bank schemes seems to be to bind the farmhand to the soil he tills, to make him the owner of a small parcel of land and create in him the longing for more property.

2. THE LEASE SYSTEM

The lease system has been condemned by many statesmen as bad. Its evil results can be easily gathered from the simple fact that few people are willing to buy farms which have long been in the hands of tenants. The tenant tries to exact as much as possible from the soil and to give back to it as little as possible.

But these evil effects could be easily avoided if the leases were made sufficiently long, say to run for twenty-five years, and if the landlord is compelled to reimburse the tenant for all improvements.

On the whole, state leases ought to be preferred to private leases. A general state lease system is at present urged by a large portion of the Russian peasants who wish to have the title of the land retained in the national government and land leased to actual tillers of the soil in specified lots. The inefficient lessee, or the one who fails to till his plot altogether, would immediately forfeit any claim to the land.

It is probable that this system will have to be adopted by Great Britain to ensure more effective production of foodstuffs. Under this system the government can prescribe to the tenant the improvements and methods of farming, and it can not only fix the rents justly, but it can more easily fix and control the price of foodstuffs produced on such lands.

3. THE SINGLE TAX

The single taxers are attempting to improve farming without making the land a state domain. They maintain that high taxes on land rents will force all land into cultivation and fill the state's treasury. There is some truth in their argument, but there are many fallacies in it. If taxation alone could improve farming and force all idle lands into cultivation, then the present war taxes would have accomplished that. Yet even in France, Russia and in the United States, where land is the chief object of taxation, this has not been accomplished. France has been compelled to adopt stringent measures to enforce the cultivation of abandoned or idle lands. The Russian provisional government has empowered local committees to take up culti-

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vation of idle private lands, 30, 40 or even 50 per cent. of which have dropped out of cultivation during the present war. In the United States the farmers are threatening to contract the area of cultivation for wheat or potatoes, if the minimum price for their crop is not fixed high enough to suit their ideas about fair returns.

The idle lands should be forced into cultivation, but this could be done only partially by taxation. As a state revenue scheme the single tax must be regarded as a failure. Land rent is not the sole source of income, and not even the most important income in capitalist society. Stocks, bonds and other industrial investments yield even more to their owners than land rents and royalties.

The single taxer would exempt from taxation improvements made on the land. Now it can be easily demonstrated that the improvement is in many cases the main thing which makes the land valuable. On arid lands the irrigation works make the land valuable. Oil lands without pipe lines lose much of their value. In the city the buildings are more valuable than the land they are built upon and the income from the land — rent — certainly is derived from the use to which the buildings are put.

It is no secret that the so-called property tax in American cities has broken down as a revenue yielding source. The city governments are contemplating taxes on movables (stocks, bonds, savings deposits), and the federal government has resorted to the income tax to defray its ever growing expenditures. The unearned increment tax has largely taken the place of new taxation schemes. Whether such unearned increment springs from land values or from war profits is immaterial.

4. COOPERATION

Cooperation is another favorite reform scheme. Its main "virtue" lies in the fact that it is easy to confuse the idea of cooperation among farm owners or tenants with cooperation among farm laborers. The former try to buy their supplies cheaper and to market their supplies at a higher price. Farmers' cooperatives are still non-existent. But the ever growing scarcity of food should counsel state and city government to give idle land and advance the necessary funds to farm laborers who could cultivate it on a cooperative basis, electing their own managers and selling the produce direct to the city or to the state. This would be a long step toward eliminating middlemen and bringing the food producer together with the food consumer.

SUMMARY OF THE EVIL EFFECTS OF THE BOURGEOIS LAND POLICY ON THE WORKING CLASS

The states and the cities have imitated the bad national land policy. Title to land, and with it political power, has passed

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from common ownership into private hands in the new western states. Colorado, California, Montana, Utah, Texas, Arizona, and the two Dakotas are governed by land grabbers, mining and railroad companies. Not only are the lumber and mining camps and railroad construction shacks the most unsanitary dwellings, but they are completely under the control of armed guards of the respective companies. These companies have assumed control even over polling booths and have prevented workers from the exercise of their political rights.

Artificial unemployment, migratory labor and the early turning of able-bodied workers into tramps and paupers are the corollaries of our land system. Agricultural labor has become casual and tramp labor. Overseers and watchmen seem to be the only permanent residents on the big ranches of Texas and Montana.

On the other hand, the eagerness of mining companies to fasten their workers to the coal lands by selling them lots for garden and home plots is no less an evil than tramping. The home and lot chains the worker to his employer's business place, makes him timid and reluctant to strike, fearing to lose his savings and installments. Especially in the smaller cities where all land is owned by a few corporations and where jobs are scarce, home ownership becomes a burden upon the worker.

In the larger cities home ownership by the workers is gradually giving way to tenantry. The higher the land value, the harder for the worker to keep up his home. And the land values in the cities have risen enormously. The land upon which the city of Boston stands was valued at \$366,000,000 in 1890 and at \$672,000,000 in 1910, that is, its value was doubled within 20 years. This increase in land values means the doubling of rents *primarily in the working class districts where the taxation rates are highest*. With the land and house as the main basis of our property tax, the millionaires' and the businessmen's holdings escape taxation and the workingmen's little home must make up for the deficit created by the wealthy tax-dodgers.

With the enormous growth of cities the tendency to segregate business districts from residential sections has become the rule everywhere. This means that the workers must live far away from their jobs. Their daily travel *has increased their workday by from two to four hours*. Parks and playgrounds have become ugly and scarce in the large metropolitan cities.

The creation of slums in the most recently built cities like Chicago, Duluth, etc., threatens the lives of the workers with all sorts of diseases. It is no coincidence that most cases of infantile paralysis in New York city in 1916 were in the poorest and most unsanitary districts populated by the working people.

The abolition of private ownership in land is, therefore, one of the cornerstones of the programme of the Socialist parties.

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THE FARMERS' NON-PARTISAN LEAGUE¹

Recently there has sprung up a new farmers' organization, the so-called Non-Partisan League of North Dakota, which is worth discussing as a typical example of farmers' political movements caused directly by the failure of the capitalist parties to enact badly needed reforms.

The Non-Partisan League was organized by an energetic farmer, Mr. Townley, among the North Dakota farmers, to enact the following reforms, which might necessitate the change of the state constitution:

- Acquirement by the state of terminal and local grain elevators.

- Establishment of a state marketing system.

- Establishment of a system of state hail insurance.

- Establishment of a state agency to purchase and distribute farm supplies.

- Creation of a state rural credit system, to make loans to farmers on a four per cent basis.

The League draws its membership almost exclusively from actual farmers, i.e., landowners and tenant farmers. The membership fee is eight dollars per annum, which automatically bars all farmhands so far as they are not barred by the first requirement.

The League picks its candidates for political office in mass meetings of its members who must, however, pledge themselves to vote for and to support the candidates so chosen both in primaries and at elections irrespective of their own political affiliation. Thus the League permits Republicans, Democrats, Progressives and Socialists to support its candidates and defeat their own candidates and demands that these parties refrain from putting up their own candidates altogether.

It appears that the landowning farmers, having freed themselves from their mortgage holders and other creditors through the high prices of foodstuffs, are feeling a thirst for political power. They are slowly groping their way toward political supremacy in the Northwestern states where the farmers already are holding the economic supremacy.

Another significant fact about the League is its attempt to be non-partisan and non-national. Of course, it does not deny its political aspirations. But inasmuch as it tries to draw its supporters from all existing political parties, it must needs pose as non-partisan. The sole, or at least the main political and economic benefit aimed at by the League is to advance the interests of the land-owning class.

There is nothing new about this non-partisanship. The People's Party, for example, and the Henry George Single Tax

¹ For the attitude of the Socialist Party toward the League, see the article on the St. Louis Convention of the party.

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movement were also non-partisan movements. Every bourgeois reform movement abhors the idea of organizing a new political party for its old and conservative aims. If it does venture to launch a brand new political party, as the Progressives did in 1912, it is doomed to failure, for such revolutionary tactics are not suited to their old ideas.

None of the League's demands embody the principle of democratic management of the state industrial establishments required by it. None of these demands recognize even the existence of the agricultural proletariat, save any of the ideas advanced by Socialists for its emancipation.

The aim of the League is to invoke state aid and the political machinery of the state to increase the landers' rent and to keep a larger share of profits obtained from agriculture for the landowners.

It is not improbable that on many occasions the Non-Partisan League will align itself with the reactionary political and economic forces. The League is likely to oppose state insurance of agricultural workers against sickness, old age and unemployment. The League is likely to oppose the fixing of maximum prices for farm produce and the compulsory sales of such produce. Already its representatives in Congress have put in the Food Control Bill, minimum sales prices for wheat to be paid to the farmers, so that the consumer may be compelled to pay at least two dollars per bushel of wheat and as much more as the farmers, through the aid of their state grain elevators, will be able to exact from him.

The Republican character of the League stands out pretty clearly in North Dakota. In other states it may become Democratic. The main feature of the League, however, is that it is organized to help the new landowning class of the country to political power.

Whereas in European countries the usual sequence of political power was from the landowning class to the capitalist class and from the latter gradually to the working class, in the United States, the reverse seems to be the case, from the manufacturing interests to the landowners.

But this contradiction is only apparent. The landowners have been in power in the Eastern manufacturing states and, to a certain extent, are even now. The country farmers, together with the city real estate owners, make up a solid reactionary mainstay in most of the eastern legislatures. In the great manufacturing state of New York, the farmers with the industrial interests are able to defeat almost any labor reform.

In the Western States the political power was grabbed, together with the franchises and big land grants, by the great corporation or trusts: railroads, copper, iron ore, coal, oil and other interests. Now the agricultural landowners are seeking

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their share of political power. The Non-Partisan League is organized to secure that power.

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APPRENTICESHIP AND INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION

The modern movement for industrial education has been caused by the decadence of the old apprenticeship system. Under that system a boy was trained for industry in the shop itself. He worked and in return was taught a trade. It is because modern industry does not train its juvenile employees but merely works them, that the demand for industrial education has arisen. It is proposed to substitute the school for the shop as the place of trade education.

Since industrial education is but an outgrowth of apprenticeship, a knowledge of American apprenticeship is as necessary to understand the present situation as is a knowledge of American history to understand present day politics.

CHARACTERISTICS OF APPRENTICESHIP

American apprenticeship was copied upon the English system. It provided for a thorough system of protection and education for the young worker and was distinctly a measure to conserve and develop the youth of the colonies. Apprenticeship should thus be clearly distinguished from indentured service, or "white servitude." The two were similar in that both apprentice and servant were bound out for a period of years. They differed in that the master was compelled to educate the apprentice while he was not compelled to train the indentured servant.

Colonial apprenticeship possessed the following features: (1) It provided a system of trade instruction. The master contracted to teach the apprentice all the parts of a specific trade. Should he fail to do this he was liable before the law and could be compelled to pay damages for this breach of contract. (2) It provided also a system for intellectual instruction. The Massachusetts law of 1642 stipulated that all apprentices should be taught "to read and write." Trade training was therefore not regarded as enough. Parents who neglected to educate their children were to be punished by having their children taken away and bound out as apprentices to masters who would educate them. Apprenticeship was therefore the forerunner of the free common school. Other colonies followed the example of Massachusetts although the Southern tier always lagged behind in its educational requirements. (3) It provided a system of moral instruction for employed youth. The master was compelled to send his apprentices to church on Sunday, to "inculcate sound Christian doctrine" and to maintain a high moral tone in his home and shop. Should he fail in any of these duties,

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the authorities could fine him and take his apprentices away and indenture them to some one else. (4) It protected the employed youth during the whole period of adolescence. The apprenticeship contracts generally ran from four to seven years while there were many terms of service that lasted ten years or more. Often the apprentice would be bound out till he was of age. In other words, the colonies assumed the responsibility of seeing that the employed boy or girl was given technical, liberal and moral instruction throughout the period of youth. The state definitely went on the theory that its responsibility for youth did not cease when the child became 14 or 16 years of age.

Apprentices were recruited from four classes. First, those who entered it voluntarily because of their desire to learn a trade. Second, those who because of the poverty of their parents were, or threatened to become a burden upon the town and were consequently bound out to service by the Poor Law authorities. Third, those who were in debt and sold themselves into apprenticeship service to satisfy their obligations. Fourth, those who were adjudged "idlers" by the local or county authorities and hence were bound out to acquire habits of "sobriety and industry."

Early American apprenticeship was not wholly beneficial. The term of service was often too long and the apprentice compelled to work without pay long after he had learned all that was necessary to practice his trade efficiently. Living as he did in the master's house, he was frequently employed at "chores" instead of at work which was directly educational. Moreover there was opportunity for individual masters to abuse their apprentices and escape punishment due to the weakness of the law in isolated districts. We cannot too highly compliment, however, the early American system in its fundamental policy, namely: its recognition that the protection of the entirety of youth is a function of the State.

CAUSES AND RESULTS OF THE BREAKDOWN OF APPRENTICESHIP

The industrial revolution has made apprenticeship which was once the rule, now the exception. In the days before the factory system a juvenile worker was at the same time a learner who was mastering the various branches of the trade. Today the youthful laborer rarely receives trade or other instruction while at his work but performs monotonous and routine tasks that are devoid of educational content.

The decline of apprenticeship may be seen by the fact that in 1860 the ratio of apprentices to the total number employed in manufacturing and mining was 1 to 33, in 1880 the ratio was 1 to 87, in 1890, 1 to 62, in 1900, 1 to 88 and in 1910, 1 to 98.

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Many employers have charged that the trade union restrictions upon the number of apprentices that could be employed have been the cause of this decline. This is plainly preposterous. In scarcely any trade is the actual ratio of apprentices employed as great as that permitted by the union. When, for example, the union allows one apprentice for every seven journeymen, it is generally found that the ratio actually employed will vary from 1 to 10 to sometimes as high as 1 to 100.

The causes then are deeper than trade-union restrictions and are indeed based upon the inevitable effect of machine industry and the sub-division of labor. Apprenticeship declined because it was unprofitable to employer, to parents and to the boy himself. (1) The employer found it unprofitable to train the young worker because teaching a boy a trade now involved teaching him the operations of many different machines. It is extremely expensive to move a worker about from machine to machine. While learning, the operative wastes time, damages the machinery, and destroys part of the product. There is every incentive therefore to keep a boy at one machine after he has mastered it rather than to move him on to another and thus allow the child learner to degenerate into a child worker.

Of course were the employer reasonably sure of keeping his apprentice after he has trained him, he would sacrifice his present loss for his future gain. But under the modern system he cannot be sure. Once trained, his apprentices can command higher wages from other firms which have not had the expense of teaching him. Consequently firms find that it pays better to steal apprentices than to train them. It would undoubtedly be profitable for any given industry as a whole to have a quota of well-trained apprentices but for any individual firm it seldom is. (2) The factory system itself makes it difficult to instruct the young workman. The employer gradually ceases to be the fellow-workman and becomes the business manager. Little by little he relinquishes his connection with actual production and confines himself more and more to purchasing and marketing. He consequently delegates the supervision of apprentices to foremen and fellow-workers. These men are either indifferent towards the apprentice's education or actively opposed to training him. The foreman is busy rushing work and resents the slowing up of production that moving a boy about from machine to machine involves. Often he is not a skilled craftsman himself and so cannot help out the apprentice. To the other workmen the apprentice is a potential menace since he may take a job away from them. "Let the kid pick it up for himself," is the general sentiment.

(3) Parents find it to be a considerable financial sacrifice to have their sons apprenticed. In apprenticeship pay is given both in money and in training while in other forms of juvenile labor

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the pay consists wholly in money. Hence the initial wage of apprentices is much lower than can be received in other positions.

(4) The boy himself dislikes apprenticeship. The higher initial wages in other occupations is more appealing to him. To be an apprentice, moreover, means overalls and greasy hands — characteristics that leisure class ideals condemn. The preponderance of boys, therefore, prefer "clean collar jobs."

The results of the breakdown of apprenticeship may be summarized under the following heads: (1) The state no longer protects and supervises its youthful workers. In the large factory moral supervision outside of working hours becomes impossible. Wholesale intellectual training becomes impracticable and the free public school is created in order to take over this feature of apprenticeship. Compulsory education, however, stops in nearly all states at fourteen, just at the time when apprenticeship would generally have been commencing. Save for the regulation of labor of 14-16 year old children by a few states, the states in general cease to exercise control or supervision over the working and home life of the youth. (2) Children leave school early and go to work at jobs that are positively injurious to them. Studies by Professors E. L. Thorndike and G. D. Strayer and Dr. L. P. Ayres clearly indicates: (a) That over 50% of those who begin school before the age of 13 are eliminated between the years 13 and 16. (b) That there are approximately 1,100,000 children between the ages of 13 and 15 inclusive who are not in school. (c) That only 40% of the children who enter school ever finish the grammar grades, while approximately only 8% ever finish the high school.

The chief reason for this exodus is poverty. The federal investigation into the conditions of women and child wage-earners together with Miss Atherton's private study of Wilkes Barre, Pa., indicates that 45% of those who leave school between the ages of 14 and 16 come from families whose weekly income, exclusive of rent, is less than \$2.00 per capita. Allowing 20% for rent, this would mean a yearly income of \$650 for a family of five. When we remember that the studies of Straightoff, Kennedy and Chapin estimate that from \$800 to \$900 a year is necessary for an average city family, it seems safe to conclude that families below the \$650 line can hardly get along without the child's wages. Thus poverty is the direct cause of nearly one-half the withdrawals and must be a powerful contributing factor in an additional large percentage.

This withdrawal from school prevents the children of the poorer classes from ever rising appreciably in the industrial scale. The poor are compelled to sacrifice the future possibilities of their children to satisfy the pressing demands of present need.

When the modern child does reach work, he finds poorer opportunities than did his predecessors. Few employers will accept

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a child of less than 16 years for a skilled position and the 14-16 year old child almost invariably works at a "blind-alley job," i.e., one that affords no opportunity for advancement, gives no training and from which the child is ousted when he demands an adult's wages. The Massachusetts Commission on Vocational Education in 1906 discovered that 90% of the children from 14 to 16 were employed at unskilled or low-skilled jobs possessing no educational value. Investigations in Philadelphia by James S. Hiatt, in New York by Alice Barrows Fernandez, in St. Louis by E. E. Lewis, in Chicago by E. L. Talbor and Anne Davis and in smaller cities like Hartford, Conn., Springfield, Ill., and Worcester, Mass., indicates that the proportion of boys and girls of the 14-16 year old period who are in skilled jobs is even less than the statistics given by the Massachusetts Commission. The great mass of children do unskilled work in factories and stores at such jobs as machine-tending, wrapping, packing, fetching and carrying. Their jobs consist chiefly in the monotonous repetition of routine movements and demand habit merely, not thought.

The modern child in industry changes rapidly from position to position. Over 50% of 4,000 children studied in Maryland held their positions for less than two months. Of 6,700 children from 14-16 who were investigated in Indianapolis, Ind., 48% held their jobs for less than three months. Other investigations in Rochester, New York, Richmond, Virginia, and Chicago, clearly establish the enormous "turn-over" which characterizes child labor.

These short-time jobs go hand in hand with intervening periods of unemployment. The Chicago City Club found that one half of the boys and girls between 14 and 16 were idle. This would mean that one of these two years was lost in idleness. Unemployment is particularly dangerous to the adolescent. It becomes especially so in city life, with all of its attendant temptations for youth. Such habits of change destroy the possibility for steady work in boys and girls. The old system of apprenticeship did not contain these evils. The indenture bound the apprentice to serve steadily for a period of years. Thus the unsettling features of modern juvenile labor were eliminated.

Nor are these evils compensated by the wage which children receive. In 1905 the average yearly wage which children under 16 in manufacturing received, was only \$176 or an average of approximately \$3.40 per week.

ATTEMPTS MADE TO REMEDY THE SITUATION

(1) *The Manual Training Movement.*—When this began in the 70's and 80's it was declared that its purpose was merely to improve cultural education through the training of the senses. Gradually, however, the purpose of training boys and girls for

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industry entered as a coordinate purpose. Though hundreds of thousands of boys and girls have taken manual training work, it is extremely doubtful whether it has had much industrial significance. (a) The instruction has generally been inadequate and the class of work done extremely amateurish. (b) It has generally been confined to woodworking for boys and to sewing and cooking for girls. Consequently it has failed to benefit the vast numbers who go into other occupations. (c) Manual training is found at its best in special manual-training high schools, but with economic conditions as they are, the very class that most needs technical training is debarred from receiving it. Few children of poor parents can attend high school. Only 7% of 2,400 graduates of various manual training high schools went into mechanical trades for which they had been supposedly trained; the rest went into the soft-handed and clean-collar occupations.

(2) *Trade School*.—The period of 1890–1910 was one in which the trade school was heralded as the solution of the problem of industrial education. By a trade school is meant a school which aims to take the place of apprenticeship and train the boy for a skilled position in industry within the school itself. Generally only those who are 16 years and over are eligible for entrance. Despite the furor over trade schools, not more than a score have been actually founded and they have failed pitifully as a solution. The reasons for this are: (a) It is doubtful if any school can completely prepare a worker for a skilled position. The shop is essentially dynamic; the school is static. The school finds it almost impossible to keep up with changing machines and processes, nor can it emphasize the importance of time or the elimination of waste as can the shop itself. (b) A trade school is too costly. The pupil sacrifices his earning power while he is at school and this is a sacrifice which is impossible for all save those in the upper strata of labor. The actual money cost to the state is also extremely large. The cost per student year seems to run from \$200 to \$300.

(3) *The Corporation School*.—This is the direct opposite of the trade school in that it is based on the theory that training for an industry can only be given in that industry itself and not in separate and independent schools. It is really a revival of apprenticeship creating a functional official, generally the supervisor of apprentices, whose duty it is to see that the apprentices are given proper instruction. A school is generally created to which the apprentices are sent for a stated time each week to receive instruction which will throw light upon the practical problems of their work.

There are over 100 such schools on the various railroad systems of the country and an even larger number amongst the manufacturing and retail concerns. Rapid as has been the

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growth of the corporation school movement, it has fundamental defects which will inevitably limit or curtail its influence.

(a) It cannot apply to small concerns. The machinery necessary to administer such a system presupposes a large plant. It is therefore, an advantage to large scale production alone.

(b) It can benefit only a small minority of the employees within a given plant. In a forthcoming book, I shall discuss the amount of technical skill required by modern industry. It is enough here to point out that the various corporation schools confine themselves almost exclusively to the training of repair men and machinists who constitute but a small percentage of the total working force.

(c) Since it is open only to children over 16, it ignores the problem of the 14-16 year old child.

(d) Being under corporation control there is danger of biased teaching upon social and economic topics.

(e) From the business standpoint, its existence is only justified so long as it yields a profit. This prevents it from realizing the highest social influence.

(f) It is extremely doubtful whether it is profitable to those employers who do install it since the apprentice can leave after his term of service is over.

(4) *The Continuation School*.—This is a reconciliation of the conflicting claims of the school and the shop. Evening schools were the first type of continuation schools. Their training was so fragmentary, their equipment so poor, and the students so tired from the day's work that their work had long been regarded as unsatisfactory. With the coming to this country in 1910 of Dr. George Kirchensteiner, the founder of the famous continuation schools of Munich, Germany, the movement for compulsory part-time continuation schools rapidly gained ground. Wisconsin in 1911 passed a law specifying that all children between the ages of 14 and 16 must attend some form of continuation school for a stated time per week during their working hours for which their employers must pay them as for regular work. Massachusetts passed a so-called "permissive law" granting any city the right to put into effect such legislation and providing for limited state aid in that event. Boston was the only Massachusetts city which took advantage of this opportunity. Other states to pass permissive laws were New York, Ohio, and Indiana. Pennsylvania in 1915 passed an act similar to that of Wisconsin requiring that all children under 16 be given part time education. Thus the continuation school movement seems to be the one that promises most for the future in actual results.

A continuation school should have two main purposes: One *broadly-social*, the other *industrial*. Under the broadly-social, should be included courses in civics, personal and social hygiene, play, etc. Under the industrial the school should: (a) Train

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the worker to be more efficient in the job at which he is then engaged. (b) Prepare him for a better position in the same industry. (c) If in a "blind-alley trade," prepare him for some better industry. Though a school cannot perform all these functions for the same boy at the same time, it should be prepared to perform them for the different classes that need the respective aid.

Since the continuation school affords an opportunity to rise while at work, it is a ladder by which men and women can raise themselves from the lowest strata of labor into the higher. It is vastly superior in this respect to the trade schools which perpetuate a caste system of labor.

(5) *Vocational Guidance*.— This is an attempt to direct youths to the work they are best fitted for. This involves two problems: (a) The determination of what work a child should engage in. (b) The creation of machinery that can administer this system.

It is difficult to tell for what occupation any child is best fitted. For a child merely to like a position is not enough. All boys at one time or another want to be circus riders or electricians. A child moreover wants to be one thing one day and another the next. Interest is then an unsatisfactory guide to the proper choice of an occupation.

In late years, psychological tests as a means of discovering aptitudes have come into force. Professors Münsterberg, Scott and Hollingworth have done pioneer work in this field though perhaps the most valuable research has been performed by Mrs. Wooley and her associates of the Schmidlapp Bureau of Cincinnati. Though the results attained are still shadowy, it seems clear that general rather than specific aptitudes are all that can be determined. That is, one can eliminate the palpably dull and stupid and put them at routine tasks and one can separate the various classes according to their qualities and apportion grades of work accordingly. But as for finding men specifically adapted for the job of motorman or sea-captain, that seems impossible. In other words, psychological tests work only roughly and are valid for only broad distinctions. Specific adaptations must be found by other means, probably by means of trial and error.

The task of vocational guidance is not only to discover positions for which children are adapted but also to discover the positions which are adapted for children. Most of the occupations in which children are now engaged are unfit for them. Vocational guidance must throw barriers in the way of permitting children to enter such pursuits as messenger, errand or van boy, wrapper, packer, sorter, sweeper, etc.

The vocational counsellor should have, therefore, accurate information which should cover the wages paid, the training given, the opportunity for advancement, the amount of unemployment,

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and the health conditions of every industry. This information should be gathered not only for the industry as a whole but the condition of specific plants as well should be known. To do this adequately necessitates a close connection between the State Department of Labor and the vocational guidance authorities.

Vocational guidance may be administered by: (a) Independent private counsellors advising individual children. It has not progressed much beyond this stage in America as yet and is in consequence unscientific and "hit or miss" in its methods. (b) A well-knitted system covering all the children leaving school for work. To do this adequately it is necessary to create a system of public labor exchanges and to coordinate the schools with them. It is also necessary to have a thorough survey of the industries of the city as a basis for knowledge. Such surveys have been made in Richmond, Va., Minneapolis, Minn., Evansville, and Indianapolis, Ind., and Cleveland, Ohio. (c) By direction and supervision within an industrial plant itself. This enables the child to be tried at several different tasks and finally fitted into the niche for which he is best adapted. The creation of special employment managers whose duty it is to supervise the hiring and firing of employees and to reduce the labor turnover, is a notable characteristic of business that has occurred during the last few years. It is proof that the various large corporations are taking up this third phase of vocational guidance.

WHAT SHOULD BE OUR SYSTEM OF THE FUTURE

(1) *Raising the Compulsory School Attendance Age to 16 Years.*—The years that a child spends from 14 to 16 in industry to-day are worse than wasted. No alleviatory measures such as continuation schools or vocational guidance are sufficient for children of this period. As Mrs. Wooley and Mrs. Fernandez say, "there is no opportunity for vocational guidance for children between 14 and 16." The only way to prevent the manhood of our youth from being degraded by the work that they now engage in is to prohibit them from working. The children who now leave school before 16 cannot be called educated, few of them having finished the grammar grades, and the time seems ripe to raise our educational minimum.

(2) *State Subsidies to Parents of Poor Children to Compensate for the Loss of Earning Power.*—To require children to attend school till 16 and to make no financial provision for their support would be to throw an unjustifiable burden upon the already over-taxed shoulders of the poor. Free tuition is not enough to secure free education, the economic disabilities of the parents should also be lightened.

(3) *Pre-vocational Training to be Given from the 14th to the 16th Year.*—To require two years more of school and at the same time not to change the curriculum for these two years would be

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inconsistent. The curriculum should be revised so that general information and training should be given in the last two years of school life. The training should be general and preparatory in its nature, aiming to train the child so that he may enter any of a number of industries and keeping away from undue early specialization.

(4) *Compulsory Part-time Continuation Schools for Children from 16 to 18 Years of Age.*—This continues to keep the hand of the state over the employed child and aids in orientating him in his work.

(5) *Prohibition of Entrance into "Blind Alley Trades" by Children Under 18.*—Certain kinds of labor are disastrous to youth and since a 16 year old child cannot choose wisely, the state should protect the child and itself from the consequences of the ignorance, helplessness and carelessness of the individual.

(6) *Voluntary Continuation Schools for Those Over 18 Years.*—Every opportunity should be afforded the ambitious worker who wishes to rise in industry and no better way can be devised than by putting at his disposal the best talent possible.

(7) *This System Should Be Administered from the Standpoint of Social as well as Industrial Efficiency.*—It is as important for the state to have good citizens as for industry to have efficient workmen. It is as important for the individual to know how to live as it is for him to make a living. The curriculum, therefore, should include subjects such as civics, hygiene, practical economics, industrial history, and literature as well as more immediately utilitarian subjects.

(8) *These Schools Should Be Managed in the Public Interest and not in the Interest of the Employing Class Alone.*—To have these schools controlled by a separate Board composed of employers, as was proposed in the so-called "Cooley Bill" lately introduced in Illinois, would be to surrender the control of these schools into the hands of organized capital. This would mean that an educational system would be devised which would make for efficient workmen in an industrial machine but would not make for free-functioning citizens in a democracy.

Reed College.

PAUL H. DOUGLAS.

MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP IN THE UNITED STATES AND ABROAD

Cities and towns in every country of the civilized world are piling up a mass of concrete proof that the function of the private promoter and investor can be performed by the community itself and at a decreased cost to its inhabitants. This cost may be reckoned not only in dollars and cents, but in terms of greater democracy, better working conditions, an elimination of graft and corruption in political life, and an awakened public spirit.

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The private promoter and investor must always levy upon the consumer a tribute of increased charges to meet the costs of interest on bonds, stock dividends and profits. Their ownership and control of the plants which manufacture or supply the necessities of life give them an enormous power over the economic and social life of the community, and impel them to seek favors from public officials in franchises, concessions and exemptions.

That all this is contrary to the public interest is attested by the rapidly growing number of municipally owned commercial activities. The public plant, relieved of the necessity of dividend, interest and profit payments, can render service at cost and can provide better conditions of labor, while it gives to the people greater control over their own economic and social life, and, being part of the government itself, is under no necessity of begging official favors to the consequent corruption of public life.

This is the logic of municipal ownership, and upon it rests the remarkable record of development along these lines. In those countries where cities have grown to be the predominant influence in the life of the nation there has been the most marked increase in public ownership, and that increase has been reflected in its colonies and dependencies. The inevitability of this process has been established by the fact that it has occurred in nations irrespective of their antiquity or the form of their government. The long-established and democratic England and the young and autocratic Germany, both essentially urban in their characteristics, lead the world in the number and relative proportion of their public plants.

The following is a condensation of the data at hand, gathered from official and non-partisan sources in the leading nations of the world, which go to prove these contentions:

I. UNITED STATES

There has been a development of municipal ownership in the United States far beyond the knowledge of the average American citizen. It has been more pronounced in fields which directly concern the public health, such as the water supply, and where the public demand for service is great but the promise of profit small, such as electric light plants in small towns and villages. But there is hardly any form of commercial activity of a public service nature which is not owned and operated by some city in the United States.

Water Works.—Municipal ownership is the rule in our large cities; private ownership, the exception. In 1915 out of the 204 cities with a population of 30,000 and above no less than 155 owned and operated their water supply system. As far back as 1899 sixty-three per cent. (1,787) of the 3,326 water works in the country were publicly owned. It is estimated that there are

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3,054 such plants in the country to-day. Some of these are of enormous size. The New York City plant is valued at \$180,000,000, the Chicago plant at \$52,000,000 and the Boston one at \$42,000,000. From 1880 to 1915 there were 48 private plants in cities of over 30,000 population taken over by the public. During the same years no public plants went into private hands.

Electric Generating Plants.—In 1913 there were 1,562 city-owned electric light and power plants—30% of the total number in the United States. Between 1907 and 1912 the number of public plants increased 24%, however, so that at present the number must be decidedly larger. Private plants during the same period increased in number but 6%. In marked contrast to water supply works, there are but few public plants in the largest cities. In 1912 there were only 7 in the 56 cities of over 100,000 population. The most notable plants are in Cleveland, Ohio; Detroit, Lansing and Grand Rapids, Mich.; Taunton, Mass.; South Norwalk, Conn.; Seattle, Wash.; and Pasadena, Cal.

Gas Works.—In 1914 there were 125 municipally-owned and operated gas plants in the country—6% of the total number. The only one in any city of over 100,000, however, was at Richmond, Va. There are notable plants at Holyoke, Mass., and Duluth, Minn.

Street Railways.—Four cities—Seattle, San Francisco, New Orleans and Munroe, La.—own and operate street railways. The New Orleans line is a belt railway for freight transfer operated in connection with the state-owned docks.

Ferries.—New York and Boston own and operate ferry lines. The municipal ferries from South Ferry to South Brooklyn and Staten Island, New York, are probably the best equipped in the world.

Docks and Water-Front.—Of the 63 principal sea and lake port cities of the United States there are only eight which do not own some part of their water-front. Six of these eight are on the Great Lakes. There are 14 which own frontage but no docks, and 41 which own both frontage and docks. There are in these cities some 550 city-owned piers and wharves. In four ports a major part of the frontage is publicly-owned: New Orleans, San Francisco, Los Angeles and San Diego. The ownership in New Orleans and San Francisco is vested in the state, that in Los Angeles and San Diego in the city. The water-front ownership in several other cities is a substantial interest: New York City owns almost one-half the total of city-owned docks in the country, 258 in number, returning to the city a yearly income in 1915 \$4,912,202; Philadelphia owns 21 wharves; Baltimore 21, and Seattle, 7. The amount of city-owned water-front, however, is probably not 5% of the total used for commercial purposes.

Golf-Links.—The following cities own and operate golf links which return a revenue to the municipality: Boston, Cincinnati,

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Denver, Indianapolis, Kansas City, Los Angeles, New York, Rochester, Seattle, Spokane and Buffalo. Several other cities own links for the use of which no charges are made: Chicago, Des Moines, Pittsburgh, St. Louis and Washington.

Public Halls.—Ten out of the 56 cities with a population of over 100,000 own and operate halls for public meetings. There are 21 in the 195 other cities of above 30,000 population.

Miscellaneous.—The following miscellaneous commercial activities are carried on by cities of over 30,000 population in the United States:

Kind of Activity	No. of cities out of total of 56 with population over 100,000	No. of cities out of 195 over 30,000
Wire and Pipe		
Conduit	1 (Baltimore)	7
Toll Bridges	1 (New York)	5
Newspaper	1 (San Francisco)	
Farms		(San Diego and Pasadena, Cal.)
Public Belt R. R.	1 (New Orleans)	9
Lunch Rooms		1 (Schenectady, N. Y.)
Stores		1 (Portland, Me.)
Organ		1 (Portland, Me.)
Liquor Agency		1 (Charleston, S. C.)
Powder Magazine		1 (Augusta, Ga.)
Canal		1 (Racine, Wis.)
Artesian Well		
Harbor Towing	1 (Portland, Ore.)	1 (Weatherford, Okla.)
Ice Plant		1 (San Antonio, Tex.)
Stone Quarry		

Non-Commercial Undertakings.—The following services are performed by cities in the United States for their own use or without profit: asphalt plants (21 cities in 1914); bath houses and bathing beaches; and garages for city owned automobiles (Baltimore, Cincinnati, etc.). The city ownership and operation of roads, streets, parks and playgrounds, garbage collection and disposal systems, hospitals, schools and colleges, libraries, etc., is so universal as to call for no further analysis.

Success in Operation.—The opponents of municipal ownership have rendered service in the cause of truth by pointing out specific failures of municipally owned and operated plants. Municipal plants, like private ones, have succeeded and failed. There have been no reliable computations of the relative proportions, nor is there need for such. The only practical standard to apply to the problem is this: have the well-managed public plants been more or less advantageous to the people as a whole, than the well-managed private ones.

There are four tests which must be applied to such plants: financial solvency, cost to the consumer, conditions of labor, and effect on the community life. The form of ownership which has in practice and under equal operating conditions combined solvency with the lowest prices, the best wages, the shortest hours of labor, the least antagonism to unions, and the most salutary effect on public life, is, obviously, the form most to be desired

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from every point of view except that of the small group of investors and seekers after unearned profit. That public plants, efficiently managed, have actually met these tests better than similar private ones is indicated by the data at hand.

There is no data of reliability covering a wide enough field to establish any sound generalization in regard to comparative conditions of labor. The few studies in this field indicate shorter hours, practically equal wages, and a more favorable attitude towards labor organizations, in public plants.

The effect on the community is impossible to prove statistically one way or the other; but common knowledge will show that the opportunities for political corruption are lessened materially by the elimination of private companies seeking special public privileges and that the greater the service which a government performs for its citizens the greater will be their interest, loyalty and devotion.

TABLE OF COMPARATIVE RATES

That public plants can be financially a success has been proven in scores of cities in the United States. The electric plants at Cleveland, South Norwalk, Pasadena and Seattle; the water works of Syracuse, Cleveland and Chicago; the street railways of San Francisco; and the ferries of the City of New York testify that cities can operate these utilities not only at cost but with considerable profit to the public treasury.

That such plants can and do furnish commodities at lower costs than private plants in the same locality has been demonstrated by a comparison of prices before and after municipalization of gas plants in Duluth and Wheeling; and by comparing rates for service charged by public and private electric plants in Pasadena and Cleveland. This fact has been borne out by several extensive price surveys undertaken in several fields by the United States Government and the Civic Federation. Most of these indicate lower prices for municipal plants.

The following is a table showing the effect of municipal ownership on rates charged by plants for gas and electricity. Nos. 1 and 3 show rates charged by the same plant before and after municipalization; Nos. 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8 show the effect on the rates charged by a private plant resulting from the competition of a more recently established municipal plant in the same field.

City	Service	Rate before	Rate after
1. Duluth	Gas supply	\$ 1.90 per 1000 cf.	\$.75
3. Wheeling	Gas supply	\$ 2.52 " "	\$.75
4. Detroit	Electricity	\$134.10 per lamp	\$50.00
5. Chicago	Electricity	\$ 90.00 " "	\$88.67
6. Pasadena	Electricity	12½¢ kwh.	5 and 3¢
7. Cleveland	Electricity	\$ 69.72 per lamp	\$49.80
8. Cleveland	Electricity	6½¢ kwh.	1½¢

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II. FOREIGN COUNTRIES

The extent and distribution of municipal ownership in other countries is indicated by the following figures condensed from extended official and non-partisan surveys.

Australia.—Of the six largest cities in Australia only one owns and operates its water supply system (Hobart), in another (Adelaide) the supply is state owned; two (Sydney and Melbourne) own and operate electric light and power plants; the street railways in one (Sydney) are state owned; two (Melbourne and Adelaide) own abattoirs while the state owns a third in Sydney; and four (Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane and Perth) operate municipal markets.

Of the 52 cities of all sizes in the province of Victoria six own and operate, either singly or through a joint board, their own street railways. Among the 193 local government units there are some 156 publicly-owned water supply systems.

Austria.—Electric generating works, 30; gas works, 28; water-supply systems, 27; street railways, 16; savings banks, 43; theatres and opera houses, 22; baths, 12; stone quarries, 4; farming and gardening undertakings, 16; municipal kitchens, 2; real estate holdings in 15 cities; breweries, 2; and undertaking establishments, 6.

Belgium.—Aside from the distribution of water there are comparatively few municipal enterprises in Belgium. Gas works are, however, owned by the following cities: Brussels, Louvain, St. Gilles, Ghent, Loheran, Termonde, Dinant and Ostend. Brussels is the only city with a municipal street railway system. There is a city-owned electric light plant at Mont-sur-Marchienne. Antwerp owns, in connection with her water-front property, tug boats, dry docks, cranes and store houses.

Canada.—Municipal ownership is highly developed in Canada. Out of a total of 431 electric light and power plants there were 118 city-owned plants in 1914. The largest are in Calgary, Edmonton, Winnipeg, Toronto, and Regina. Ten out of the 42 gas works are in the public hands,—none, however, in the largest cities. While no compilation of street railways has been made there are city-owned systems in the following cities at least: Regina, Edmonton, Calgary, Moose Jaw, Brandon, Lethbridge, Medicine Hat and Port Arthur. Out of the 144 water supply systems at least 110 are owned and operated by the public. A city-owned dock is reported from Beaverton, Ont.

Denmark.—The only available figures show that out of 36 Danish cities lighted by gas in 1892, 27 supplied their own illuminant.

France.—Municipal ownership has made little headway in France, but there is evidence to show that there are a considerable number of municipal trading undertakings. On account of restrictive legislation there were in 1905 only eight towns own-

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ing plants producing light. No municipal street railways are recorded. In 1892, however, surveys showed that out of 438 cities of over 5,000 inhabitants, 284 owned their water supply systems. Since that time the city-owned plants have materially increased in number. There are several municipal abattoirs, public baths, and the city of Lyons is recorded as engaging in a productive housing enterprise.

Germany.—Germany leads the world in the development of state socialism in her cities and towns. It has been estimated that no less than \$1,250,000,000 have been invested in the productive trading enterprises conducted by the cities and towns of the German Empire. Municipal ownership is so common that there are hardly any cities which have not engaged in it at least to some extent. Out of the 1,279 cities and towns in Prussia in 1906 there were only 310, all of them small places with less than 5,000 inhabitants, which were without municipal trading enterprises. In most German towns about one-half, and in some cases as much as three quarters, of the outstanding loans has been contracted on behalf of these enterprises.

There were in 1908 2,309 cities and towns in Germany. Of these no less than 1,238 owned and operated their water-supply systems. By far the largest proportion of private works were in the towns of less than 5,000 population. Out of the 85 cities of over 50,000 inhabitants no less than 79 had a city-owned water supply. There were 709 municipal gas works and again the big cities were almost invariably the owners of their gas systems; 65 out of the 85 with 50,000 population and above. Municipal electric light and power plants totalled 413—63 in the largest 85 cities. There were 79 municipal street railways, all of them in the 821 cities of over 5,000 population, 35 in the largest cities. Abattoirs in the hands of municipalities were recorded from no less than 814 urban districts: 82 in the most populous cities.

A multitude of less important services are being performed by German cities directly for the benefit of their citizens. Out of the 113 most important sea and river port cities some 27 had in 1911 constructed docks equipped with extensive quays, warehouses, railways, electric cranes, and all other necessary auxiliaries. Few, if any, towns of consequence are without publicly-owned baths. In 1910 there were 335 separate bathing establishments in public hands in 51 towns of over 50,000 population. Closed market halls are owned by most of the large towns and some are supplied with ice from city-owned generating plants. There are two municipal banks—in Breslau and Chemnitz—and savings banks in every city except a few towns of small size. Few of the larger towns are without city-owned pawn shops: there are 49 in Prussia, 34 in Bavaria, and 15 in other parts of the country. It is estimated that 50 German towns own theatres outright, while four own two each. Usually these are leased to a private manager, but Mannheim, Freiburg, Strassburg, Kiel,

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Cologne and several other important cities not only own their theatres but manage them as well. German cities have gone into the real estate business to an extent little appreciated. Nine cities own more than 40% of the land within their boundaries; seven more own from 30 to 40%; eleven others, more than 25%; and five others about 10%. Of 106 towns with over 50,000 inhabitants 42 had in 1909 built houses on their land. Some cities rent these at moderate cost, others sell them. Many towns engage in insurance enterprises of various kinds. In 1910 the total value of property insured in public insurance was \$15,000,000,000. Cities have established labor registries to a large extent. There were no less than 475 of these establishments in 1911. Six cities own pharmacies, two of which are city-operated as well as owned. A far larger number of towns maintain hospital pharmacies which supply drugs and supplies for all city institutions.

Great Britain.—England is second only to Germany in the extent and variety of her municipal trading enterprises. One-third of the total number of gas works are owned by British cities and towns, while in the field of electric light and power plants the proportion swings the other way: there were in 1911 326 public and 151 private electric plants. There are no less than 176 municipally-owned street railways in Great Britain—only 124 are in private hands. Water works have been almost entirely municipalized: there were in 1905 1,142 owned by cities and 231 by private companies. In 1908 there were 103 local authorities (county councils, county boroughs, other boroughs, urban district councils, and local harbor boards) carrying on harbor, pier, canal and quay undertakings in England and Wales.

Other municipal trading ventures are as follows:

<i>Service</i>	<i>Thirty London local authorities</i>	<i>Forty-three large local authorities outside London</i>	<i>Seventy-three large British local authorities</i>
Markets (and Slaughter-houses) ..	8	40	48
Baths (and Wash-houses)	26	41	67
Working class Dwellings	16	26	42
Model Lodging-houses .....	..	8	2
Cemeteries	8	6	14
Milk Depots	2	2	4
Ferries .....	..	8	2
Steamboats	1	..	1
Conditioning house .....	..	1	1
Ice Manufactory .....	..	1	1
Flag-making .....	..	1	1
Telephones .....	..	4	4
Aquarium .....	..	1	1

Holland.—It appears that nearly all the towns and cities own and operate their gas works. Flushing is the only important exception. No figures are available for other fields of activity.

Hungary.—Of the 136 Hungarian towns excluding Budapest

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134 have municipally owned works of various kinds. Among these municipal undertakings are 124 slaughter houses, 81 canalization works, 40 water works, 39 bathing pavilions, 32 tile factories, 23 restaurants, 18 electric works, 12 stone quarries, 12 ice factories, 11 hotels, 8 gas works, 7 amusement halls, 6 savings banks, 6 pawn shops, 6 meadow and forestry administrations, 4 sawmills, 3 coffee houses, 2 local railroads, 2 public markets, 2 mills, 2 sand pits, 2 theaters, 1 electric street railway, 1 printing press, 1 coal mine, 1 furnace, 1 provision exchange, 1 liquor business, 1 petroleum plant, 1 disinfecting station, 1 garbage crematory, and 1 street cleaning undertaking where all the wagons, horses, etc., are owned and operated by the municipality. In all there are 452 municipally owned undertakings outside of the city of Budapest. Of this number 300 or 66% serve the public health.

Budapest owns its own water works, gas works, street car system, a bread bakery, slaughter houses and cattle markets, public markets for other foodstuffs, a slaughter house for horses and for the preparation of horse meat, storehouses, amusement halls, street cleaning system, a bill posting department, a wholesale clearing house for provisions, a peddler market, baths, disinfecting station, tenement houses, a bachelor boarding house, and, for purely city consumption the following: stone quarries, printing press, newspapers, coal and fuel yards. The city owns also under the head of real estate: lots, houses, fruit orchards, and forests. Budapest is one of the most highly socialized cities in the world.

Italy.—Municipal ownership is highly developed in Italy. This country has taken the lead in certain fields in particular,—drug stores, bakeries and butcher shops. While there are no figures available showing the comparative figures in the field of private enterprise, the following will indicate the extent of municipal trading in 1910. Water works, 447; butcher shops, 22; electric plants, 100; markets, 57; bill posting monopolies, 45; drug stores, 35; gas works, 34; baths, 32; ice and cold storage plants, 31; acetylene plants, 30; bakeries and mills, 27; dwellings and lodgings, 24; street railway and transportation systems, 14, and telephone systems, 2.

Japan.—The only available records show the municipal ownership of street railways in Tokio. The city bought the property from private hands in 1911.

New Zealand.—As in most of the British colonies municipal trading has been highly developed in New Zealand. The following is a summary of the comparative extent of city and private ownership. The total number of cities and towns is 113. In these municipalities there are 86 water supply systems and all of them publicly owned. In 51 there are bands supplying public music and of these 46 are owned and managed by the city. There are 46

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public baths of which cities own 44. Of a total of 71 gas works 38 are municipally owned and operated. There are 33 municipal abattoirs as against 9 in private hands. No less than 24 of the 36 electric light and power plants are owned and operated by cities; 12 out of the 20 street railway systems. Miscellaneous examples of trading are: organs owned by two cities; stone quarries, by two; ferries, by one; and daffodil cultivation, by one.

Russia.—Municipal enterprise in Russia extends to a large variety of undertakings, among these being: the direct exploitation of water works, sewerage, scavenging, lighting, abattoirs, dispensaries, baths, brick-making, stone quarries, pawn shops, flour mills, butchers' and bakers' shops, public markets, dairies, popular restaurants, telephone service, docks, ware houses and coal and fuel depots. No less than 70% of the water works and 48% of the electric light and power stations are municipally owned and operated. Twelve city-owned street railway systems are reported and gas works in the principal cities of Petrograd, Revel and Riga.

South Africa.—South Africa has outstripped New Zealand for the variety if not for the relative proportion of municipal ownership. There are 106 municipal to one private water supply systems; 32 city-owned to 21 privately owned electric light and power plants; 11 municipal street railway lines; 100 public markets; 13 baths; 11 abattoirs; 5 golf links; 3 wash houses; 2 public commonage grounds; 2 cattle-dipping tanks; 2 market gardens; 1 orchestra; 1 telephone system; 1 gas works; 1 bus line; 1 brewery and eating house; 1 fruit farm; 1 stud farm; 1 gum-tree planting enterprise; 1 timber forest and 1 creamery.

South America.—That South America is the mecca of private exploitation is borne out by the fact that there are practically no records of municipal ownership in the literature available. An exception to this rule is the municipal housing enterprise of Buenos Ayres.

Switzerland.—The principal public utility services of Switzerland are almost entirely in public hands. Out of the 36 water supply systems, 34 are city-owned; out of 39 gas works, 37 are municipally owned, 9 of these being privately operated and one leased by the city to a private concern in which it owns stock; of the 35 electric light and power plants, 22 are municipally owned, 4 privately owned, 8 are leased to a private company, and one is state owned; and of the 17 street railway systems 7 are city-owned, 9 privately owned, and one owned by a cantonal government. Swiss municipalities have gone extensively into the problem of keeping down rents, in some cases giving financial assistance to co-operative construction companies for the erection of dwellings, and in others undertaking themselves the building of houses. Among the cities that have built their own houses

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are: Berne, Zurich, Lausanne, Vevey, Neuchatel, St.-Galle and Lugano. Several cities have entered the business of unemployment insurance. Land ownership has also gone far among the Swiss local governments.

EVANS CLARK.

MUNICIPAL HEALTH DEPARTMENTS AND PUBLIC HEALTH

About 1,400,000 persons lose their lives each year in continental United States. Of these, probably a fourth or a third could be saved by the application of well-established health department procedures. Of the preventable diseases, diphtheria and typhoid fever each kills nearly 20,000 persons, and each makes another 200,000 sick. Tuberculosis takes the final toll from about 150,000 victims; while about 250,000 babies are born only to die before reaching one year of age. In addition, another 100,000 babies are born dead. These ghastly losses cannot be stated precisely, as recent death records are kept for only two-thirds of our population; but it is beyond doubt that the opportunities for disease prevention and conservation of health and life in this country are huge.

Half our people live in "urban" communities — places of 2,500 inhabitants and over; about two-fifths live in places of 10,000 and over. Consequently, our municipalities represent a large share of the country's public health problem. The cities have half the population and more than half the deaths, the urban death rate being greater than that of the rural population. Moreover, the cities must themselves bear their health burdens; aside from advisory functions, the federal public health service is restricted in its activities to keeping disease out of the country and from passing between states, while state health departments are for the most part occupied with supervision of inter-community problems, such as stream pollution, and have limited executive functions. The federal and state services have little power to act in cities; most of the actual field work against disease must be done by the municipal departments.

Such being the case it is a matter of the first importance to know the condition of these departments, to know how adequately they are financed and what advantage they are taking of the opportunities placed at their disposal by modern sanitation. A recent investigation along these lines among cities over 25,000 population,¹ one covering the activities that a modern department reasonably may be expected to carry on, showed that a fifth of the cities made no physical inspection of school children; over a

¹ "A Survey of the Activities of Municipal Health Departments in the United States." Franz Schneider, Jr. Department of Surveys and Exhibits, Russell Sage Foundation. N. Y., 1916.

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third did not offer the ordinary laboratory diagnosis for the commoner communicable diseases; over a fourth made no effort to educate the public in health matters; nearly three-fourths had no housing law; nineteen-twentieths had no concern with the hygiene of industry; over six-sevenths had no program against the venereal diseases; over a half had no proper organization to combat infant mortality; and less than a quarter had a coherent program against tuberculosis. The average size of the health department appropriation for health purposes was 22 cents per inhabitant per year, as compared with recommendations made by various authorities for minima varying from 50 cents to \$1.00. The smaller cities made poorer showings than the larger ones, and those in the North poorer than those in the South. Altogether the facts show a surprising amount of neglected opportunity, and that public health work in this country is still in its infancy. This conclusion is consistent with the existing heavy losses from preventable diseases as revealed by our vital statistics.

It may be said in encouragement that our municipal health departments are improving. More and more departments are taking up the essentials—infant hygiene work, and modern methods as applied to tuberculosis and the other communicable diseases. More and better health education is being carried on; and the public health nurse is coming into her own. The departments are also showing a better appreciation of the lack of value in fumigation, and of the importance of pasteurization of milk. Moreover, there is a growing belief that the city should see to it that good medical service is available to the poor, and that health department clinics have great advantages in meeting part of this problem. Another tendency is represented by the bureaus and clinics of industrial hygiene recently created by some health departments, although there is a disposition to leave this function to the state labor authorities.

In short, our cities suffer a tremendous health and life wastage from preventable causes; and our municipal health departments are on the whole gravely inadequate. The departments are improving, but lag much behind the rapidly-advancing art of sanitation. A health department should be regarded no longer as merely a nuisance abatement office, or as an epidemic suppressor; but should be expected to carry on continuous and aggressive campaigns against disease, and, by educational work, to seek to create health in a positive manner. For realization of these ends trained health officials and more adequate appropriations are the present needs.

FRANZ SCHNEIDER, JR.

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WOMAN SUFFRAGE

The agitation for Woman Suffrage, starting in this country long before the Civil War, has reached large proportions and the leaders of the movement believe that complete victory is in sight. In Europe, too, interest in Woman Suffrage is growing. Many countries have granted partial or full suffrage.

Careful examination of the statement of the spread of woman suffrage appended below, indicates that the more progressive sections of Europe, Scandinavia, etc., the more progressive sections of this country, the Western states, and outlying sections, like the British Dependencies, lead in this extension of democracy.

WHERE WOMEN VOTE

(The steps by which women obtained political rights are here given.)

Norway: Municipal franchise granted tax-paying women 1901; full franchise granted tax-paying women, 1907; municipal franchise extended to all women, 1910; full parliamentary franchise extended to all women, 1913; approximate number of women having full franchise 380,000. In 1910, 44 women were elected to municipal councils, 178 elected alternates. In 1909 one woman, an alternate, sat in parliament.

Finland: Municipal franchise granted tax-paying women in county districts, 1863; municipal franchise granted tax-paying women in city districts, 1872; full franchise granted all women, 1906. There are 21 women in the present Diet, elected 1913; 707,000 women have the franchise.

Sweden: Municipal franchise granted tax-paying widows and spinsters, 1862; municipal franchise granted all women, 1909; 1,400,000 women affected; more than 60 women are town councillors.

Iceland: Municipal suffrage granted tax-paying widows and spinsters, 1882; municipal suffrage extended to all women, 1909; full suffrage extended to all women, 1915; 11,000 women affected; 3 women are town councillors.

Denmark: Municipal franchise granted tax-paying women and wives of men who pay taxes, 1908; full suffrage extended to all women, 1915; 13 women elected in Copenhagen in 1913, 1 made Vice President of the Council.

New Zealand: Municipal suffrage granted all women, 1886; full suffrage granted all women, 1893; 300,000 women affected.

Australia: State suffrage granted in South Australia, 1895; West Australia, 1900; in New South Wales, 1902; in Tasmania, 1903; in Queensland, 1905; in Victoria, 1908; full suffrage granted throughout Federated Australia, 1902; 1,100,000 women affected; women eligible to office.

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British South Africa: Municipal suffrage granted to women in all four provinces—Cape Colony, Natal, Orange River Colony, and Transvaal, 1914; women made eligible to local government bodies in Natal, 1914.

England and Wales: Municipal suffrage granted to unmarried women and widows who were householders in 1869; women made eligible to city and county councils, 1907. The electoral reform bill which included a clause giving parliamentary suffrage to women of 30 years and over possessing certain qualifications passed its second reading in May, 1917.

Scotland: Municipal suffrage granted women on same terms as men, 1881; women made eligible to city and county councils in 1901.

Ireland: Municipal suffrage granted women on same terms as men, 1898; women made eligible to city and county councils, 1911.

Isle of Man: Full parliamentary suffrage granted to women property owners, 1881; full parliamentary suffrage extended to women tax-payers, 1892.

CANADA

Quebec: Municipal suffrage granted to property-owning widows and spinsters, 1884; municipal suffrage extended to widows and spinsters who are householders, 1909.

Ontario: Municipal suffrage granted to property-owning widows and spinsters, 1884; provincial suffrage, 1917.

New Brunswick: Municipal suffrage extended to tax-paying widows and spinsters, 1886.

Nova Scotia: Municipal suffrage granted to all property-owning women, except those whose husbands are voters, 1886.

Prince Edward Island: Municipal suffrage granted property-owning widows and spinsters, 1888.

Manitoba: Municipal suffrage granted to property-owners and spinsters, 1888; full suffrage granted to women, 1916.

Saskatchewan: Municipal suffrage granted to property-owning women, 1888; provincial suffrage, 1916.

Alberta: Municipal suffrage granted to property-owning women, 1888; provincial suffrage, 1916.

British Columbia: Municipal suffrage granted to property-owning widows and spinsters, 1888; full suffrage, 1916.

UNITED STATES

School suffrage granted certain classes of women subject to various restrictions; Kentucky, 1838; Kansas, 1861; Michigan, 1875; Minnesota, 1875; Colorado, 1876; New Hampshire, 1878; Oregon, 1878; Massachusetts, 1879; Vermont, 1880; New York, 1880; Mississippi, 1880; Nebraska, 1883; Montana, 1887; New Jersey, 1887; North Dakota, 1887; South Dakota, 1887; Arizona,

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1887; Oklahoma, 1890; Connecticut, 1893; Ohio, 1894; Delaware, 1898; Wisconsin, 1900.

Suffrage on taxation and bonding propositions granted certain classes of women subject to various restrictions: Montana, 1887; Iowa, 1894; Louisiana, 1898; New York, 1901; Kansas, 1903; Michigan, 1908.

Municipal suffrage (limited): Vermont, 1917.

Presidential and local (municipal, county, etc.) suffrage: Illinois, 1913; North Dakota, 1917; Indiana, 1917; Nebraska, 1917.

Presidential suffrage: Ohio, 1917; Michigan, 1917; Rhode Island, 1917.

Primary suffrage: Arkansas, 1917.

Full suffrage: granted all women: Wyoming, 1869; Colorado, 1893; Utah, 1896; Idaho, 1896; Washington, 1910; California, 1911; Kansas, 1912; Oregon, 1912; Arizona, 1912; Alaska, 1913; Montana, 1914; Nevada, 1914; New York, 1917.

Wyoming: Full suffrage granted 1869; eligible to all offices.

Colorado: Full suffrage granted, 1893; one woman member in each of the upper and lower houses of the Assembly at present.

Utah: Full suffrage granted, 1896; eligible to all offices.

Idaho: Full suffrage granted, 1896; eligible to all offices.

Washington: Full suffrage granted, 1910; eligible to all offices; 2 women members of Legislature, 1912.

California: Full suffrage granted, 1911; 1 woman member of Assembly, 1914.

Kansas: Municipal suffrage granted, 1887; full suffrage granted, 1912; eligible to all offices.

Oregon: Full suffrage granted, 1912; 1 member of Legislature, 1914.

Arizona: Full suffrage granted, 1912.

Alaska: Full suffrage granted, 1913.

Montana: Full suffrage granted, 1914; 1 member in House of Representatives.

Nevada: Full suffrage granted, 1914.

New York: Full suffrage granted in 1917.

THE NUMBER OF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS, UNITED STATES SENATORS, AND REPRESENTATIVES ELECTED FROM EQUAL SUFFRAGE STATES ¹

Women vote for President in thirteen states. These states elect 136 Presidential Electors, or one-fourth of the Electoral College.

Women vote for United States Senators and Representatives in twelve states. These states elect 24 United States Senators and 83 Representatives.

The following table shows the number of Presidential Electors and United States Representatives allotted each state:

¹ Women Suffrage Year Book, 1916, page 22.

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THE ELECTORAL VOTE AND CONGRESSIONAL REPRESENTATION OF EQUAL SUFFRAGE STATES

Equal Suffrage States.	The Electoral Vote of each State.	Congressional Representation (Apportionment at 1910 Census)
Arizona	3	1
California	13	11
Colorado	6	4
Idaho	4	2
Kansas	10	8
Montana	4	2
Nevada	3	1
New York	45	43
Oregon	5	3
Utah	4	2
Washington	7	5
Wyoming	3	1
	107	88
Illinois	29	
	136	

PROGRESS OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE DURING 1916¹

January 8—The Federal Suffrage Amendment was favorably reported to the United States Senate by the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

January 20—The South Carolina House failed to pass a Suffrage Amendment by a vote of 61 to 51.

January 27—The Legislature of Manitoba, Canada, by a unanimous vote, passed a bill giving women of the province full suffrage.

February 12—The Oklahoma House, by a vote of 62 to 15, adopted a resolution for the submission of a Suffrage Amendment to the voters.

February 15—The Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives, by a vote of 9 to 7, postponed action upon the Federal Suffrage Amendment until December 14.

February 18—The Virginia House of Delegates voted 51 to 40 against submitting a Suffrage Amendment to the voters.

February 22—The Maryland Senate passed a resolution to submit a Suffrage Amendment to the voters.

March 8—The Kentucky Senate passed a Suffrage Amendment by a vote of 26 to 8.

March 10—The Kentucky House failed to pass a Suffrage Amendment by a vote of 46 to 45.

March 14—The New York Assembly, by a vote of 109 to 30, passed a resolution providing for the submission of a Suffrage Amendment to the voters.

March 18—The two largest German Suffrage Societies "Deutscher Verband für Frauenstimmrecht" and "Deutsche Vereinigung für Frauenstimmrecht" united under the title of "Deutscher Reichverband für Frauenstimmrecht."

March—The Legislature of Alberta, Canada, passed a bill giving the women of the province full suffrage.

March 28—The Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives, by a vote of 10 to 9, postponed indefinitely consideration of all Constitutional Amendments.

March—The women of the Province of Saskatchewan, Canada, were granted full suffrage.

April 8—The Norwegian Parliament agreed to an amendment of the law enabling women to be appointed members of the Norwegian Council of State. The vote on the measure was 91 to 14. The women of Norway

¹ Woman Suffrage Year Book, 1916, pages 11-13.

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were given full suffrage in 1914, and were eligible to all offices except to become members of the Council of State.

April 10—The New York Senate by a vote of 33 to 10, passed a resolution providing for the submission of a Suffrage Amendment. The Amendment must pass both branches of the 1917 Legislature before it can be submitted to the voters.

April 20—"L'Union Francaise pour le Suffrage des Femmes" at its annual congress meeting in Paris, adopted the following resolution:

"That the women of the belligerent countries who have suffered so much by the war, and who through long years will bear the consequences of it, petition their respective governments that they should take part in the diplomatic conferences which will take place with a view to the reestablishment of peace, and that they should be represented by one or two women. They demand it as much in reparation of the past, which has kept them in subordination, as a pledge of freedom in the future. Above all, they demand it to prevent the return of such conflagrations."

"L'Union Francaise pour le Suffrage des Femmes" is an affiliated member of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance.

May 28—The Methodist Episcopal Church at its annual conference passed a resolution in favor of Woman Suffrage.

June 5—A Woman Suffrage Amendment was defeated in Iowa by popular vote.

June 5-7—A convention of women voters assembled in Chicago and formed the National Woman's Party.

June 6—National Woman Suffrage Assembly held in Chicago.

June 8—The National Republican Convention adopted a Woman Suffrage plank in its platform.

June 16—The National Democratic Convention adopted a Woman Suffrage plank in its platform.

June—"A despatch this week from The Hague says the *Zeitschrift für Frauenstimmrecht*, the German Woman Suffrage organ, has sent the following greeting to the women of France:

"We feel, think and suffer like you, and swear that after this catastrophic war the women of all nations shall work unitedly to prevent forever its recurrence."

June 18—Suffrage Demonstration held in Amsterdam, Holland.

July 1-7—The National Education Association, at its Convention in New York, adopted a resolution urging its members "to endeavor in every possible way to hasten the confirmation of Woman Suffrage."

July 19-21—The Prohibition Party at its Convention in St. Paul re-adopted a Woman Suffrage plank in its platform.

August 10-12—A Conference of the National Woman's Party met at Colorado Springs.

August 14—Premier Asquith, in his speech before the House of Commons, stated that any franchise reform bill in England must include suffrage for women.

September 6-10—The forty-eighth Annual Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association was held at Atlantic City, New Jersey.

The Association voted to continue its policy of working on non-partisan lines for both State and Federal action.

October—The Province of British Columbia, Canada, gave a favorable majority on a referendum on Woman Suffrage.

November 7—Woman Suffrage amendments were defeated in South Dakota and West Virginia by popular vote.

November 7—For the first time a woman was elected to the House of Representatives of the United States. Miss Jeannette Rankin was chosen Representative at large from Montana on the Republican ticket. Her platform was National Woman Suffrage, Child Welfare, Tariff Revision, Prohibition, and greater publicity in Congressional records.

Miss Rankin was chairman of the Montana State Suffrage Committee during the campaign which won Equal Suffrage for Montana in 1914.

December 14—The Judiciary Committee of the United States House of Representatives reported the Federal Suffrage Amendment without recommendation.

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THE INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM

The Initiative and Referendum give the people power to make legislation directly, a power usually delegated to representative legislators. Through the Initiative, measures are placed on the ballot by petitions signed usually by eight or ten per cent. of the voters. Through the Referendum, enactments by the representative bodies are referred to the people by the bodies themselves or by petitions signed usually by five per cent. of the voters.

Oregon was the first state in the United States to use these instruments and has tested them the fullest. The following eighteen states adopted the Initiative and Referendum in the following years: South Dakota, 1898; Oregon, 1902; Nevada, 1905; Montana, 1906; Oklahoma, 1907; Maine, 1908; Missouri, 1908; Michigan, 1908; Arkansas, 1910; Colorado, 1910; Arizona, 1911; New Mexico, (Referendum only) 1911; California, 1911; Ohio, 1912; Nebraska, 1912; Washington, 1912; North Dakota, 1914; Maryland, (Referendum only) 1915.

The Initiative and Referendum are now in operation in more than three hundred cities of the United States, not all of which are in the foregoing eighteen states. Other states also practice a form of direct legislation by submitting measures to the people through the state legislature. In 1916, there were as many such measures as were submitted in the Initiative-and-Referendum states.

The rate of growth of the Initiative and Referendum has slackened somewhat since 1912. No new states were added to the list in 1916 and for the preceding two years only one state each year was added to the list. In 1912, each state having the Initiative and Referendum on the average voted on nine measures, in 1914, on eleven measures, in 1915 on eight, and in 1916 on five. These facts have been the basis of a claim by some of its enemies that the people are tiring of a fad. Against this, however, friends point out that in no state is there any movement to repeal the provisions granting the Initiative and Referendum, and the few efforts that have been made in these states to restrict its use have overwhelmingly failed. A factor certainly affecting greatly its movement and use has been the recent industrial depression, which has had such a blighting effect on social legislation in general.

Results of the use of the Initiative and Referendum may be considered from the point of view, (a) of the quality of the laws passed, (b) its success as a progressive instrument, and (c) its educational effect.

Enemies and friends alike admit a number of excellent laws have been passed and almost no bad ones. In Oregon out of the fifty-six measures adopted by direct legislation, have come nearly

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every measure making up the famous Oregon System. These laws include such measures as the Direct Primary, the Corrupt Practices Act, Employer's Liability, Rural Credit, Woman Suffrage, and measures bringing shorter hours of labor. That the state legislature has not deteriorated since the adoption of direct legislation is generally admitted. Political party organization is perhaps not quite so binding where direct legislation exists. Evidence of the discretion shown by voters is that during the last three general elections in all the states about sixty per cent. of the measures have been rejected.

Results also show that nearly all general measures adopted are progressive and few are conservative; and of those voted upon perhaps at least ten are progressive or radical to one that is conservative. Since only four out of ten are adopted, many radical and progressive measures are defeated. Indeed there is much evidence to show that the people vote quite conservatively, and considerable education and urging is necessary to secure a majority of progressive votes, and a great deal more urging is necessary to secure the passage of a radical measure. And there is also some evidence to show that wealth can control the Initiative and Referendum just as it can control other organs of government, though perhaps not quite so easily.

Perhaps the greatest result is educational. Governmental ownership and regulation is developing rapidly. To prevent a second feudalism, democracy must control. This makes necessary a tremendous amount of education, social, economic and political. This, in part, the Initiative and Referendum accomplishes. The average number of measures voted on in all the Initiative-and-Referendum states in the last two general elections was one hundred and thirty-five. Oregon alone has voted on one hundred and forty-seven measures. The range of subjects covered is astounding, but no less so than the spread of education.

WILLIAM F. OGBURN.

Reed College.

THE PROHIBITION MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES¹

On May 1, 1917, 26 states with an aggregate population of 35,811,140 according to the 1910 census, had adopted prohibition of the sale of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes. Nine were under prohibition prior to January 1, 1915. They were: Maine, Kansas, North Dakota, Georgia, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Mississippi, Tennessee and West Virginia. The aggregate population of these states, according to the 1910 census, was 14,685,961. On January 1, 1915, the prohibition amendment to

¹ Anti-Saloon League Year Book, 1917.

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the state constitution of Arizona went into effect. Since that time, prohibition laws have gone into operation in the states of Alabama, Arkansas, Colorado, Idaho, Iowa, Oregon, South Carolina, Virginia and Washington.

In the fall election of 1916 the states of Michigan, Montana, Nebraska and South Dakota were added to the list of prohibition states. The legislatures which convened early in 1917 in the states of Indiana, Utah and New Hampshire, enacted statutory prohibition laws, thus bringing the number of prohibition states to 26. The prohibition provisions have already gone into operation in 19 of the 26 states. In the other seven which have adopted the prohibition policy, the law becomes operative as follows: Indiana, April 2, 1918; Michigan, May 1, 1918; Montana, December 31, 1918; Nebraska, May 1, 1917; South Dakota, July 1, 1917; Utah, August 1, 1917; New Hampshire, May 1, 1918.

Prior to January 1, 1915, the following states were under some form of local option: Alabama, Arizona, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Texas, Utah, Vermont, Washington, and Wisconsin.

In South Dakota, under the old law, all sections of the state were under prohibition except political subdivisions where a majority of the electors indicated that they did not wish the prohibition law to apply. Similar laws were in operation in Arkansas and Iowa prior to the adoption of state-wide prohibition.

Wyoming and New Mexico have prohibited the sale of liquors in all sections except certain classes of incorporated municipalities.

The states of Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Nevada are under license, not even a general local option law being operative in these three commonwealths.

The United States government has prohibited the liquor traffic in the District of Columbia, in Alaska, in the Indian territories, in certain other portions of the territories, in military forts and reservations, in the United States Navy, and in national and state Soldiers' Homes, as well as in other specific areas under federal control. The United States government, moreover, has prohibited the shipment of intoxicating liquors through the mails and has prohibited the use of the mails for the carrying of letters, circulars or advertisements of any character soliciting or advertising intoxicating liquors in states where the sale of such liquors has been prohibited by law.

As a result of the operation of the several state and national no-license and prohibition laws, more than 56,000,000 of the population of the United States were living under prohibition and

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more than 60 per cent of the entire area of the nation was prohibition territory on May 1, 1917.

NATIONAL PROHIBITION BY CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT

The following resolution calling for a national prohibition amendment to the constitution came up before the House of Representatives on December 22, 1914. One hundred and ninety-seven voted in favor of the measure and 189 against it. Since the resolution required a two-thirds majority, it failed of passage.

"Section 1. The sale, manufacture for sale, transportation for sale, importation for sale of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes in the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof and exportation thereof are forever prohibited.

"Section 2. The Congress or the states shall have power independently or concurrently to enforce this article by all needful legislation."

This joint resolution was introduced in both houses of the Sixty-fourth Congress which convened in December, 1915. On December 14, 1916, the House Judiciary Committee reported favorably on the measure, recommending it for passage by the House. On December 21, 1916, the Judiciary Committee of the Senate reported favorably on this National Prohibition Resolution, after making certain changes in the wording of the resolution.

While these joint resolutions were thus favorably recommended for passage by both the Judiciary Committee of the House and the Judiciary Committee of the Senate, and were placed on the calendar of the House and Senate respectively, they were not brought to a vote in either house during the Sixty-fourth Congress.¹

THE DRY STATES

The following is a list of the "dry" states with the date of their adopting prohibition and the manner of its enactment:

Maine (statutory), 1858; (constitutional), 1884; Kansas (constitutional), 1889; North Dakota (constitutional), 1889; Oklahoma (constitutional), 1907; Georgia (statutory), 1908; Mississippi (statutory), 1908; North Carolina (statutory), 1909; Tennessee (statutory), 1909; West Virginia (constitutional), 1914; Arizona (constitutional), 1915; Alabama (statutory), 1915; Virginia (statutory), 1916; South Carolina (statutory), 1916; Arkansas (statutory), 1916; Iowa (statutory), 1916; Colorado (constitutional), 1916; Oregon (constitutional), 1916; Washington (statutory), 1916; Idaho (constitutional), 1916.

In the following states prohibition has been adopted and will go into effect at the date named:

¹ Since the above was printed Congress passed the amendment and it is now before the several states for action.

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Utah (statutory), Aug. 1, 1917; Nebraska (constitutional), May 1, 1917; South Dakota (constitutional), July 1, 1917; Indiana (statutory), Apr. 2, 1918; Michigan (constitutional), Apr. 30, 1918; Montana (constitutional), Dec. 31, 1918; Alaska (statutory), Jan. 1, 1918; District of Columbia (statutory), Oct. 1, 1917.

THE U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

On March 4, 1913, Labor was for the first time recognized as a separate interest and given a place in the President's cabinet. The Department of Commerce and Labor was then abolished and two separate departments created, namely, the Department of Labor and the Department of Commerce.

The Department of Labor was created to foster, promote, and develop the welfare of wage-earners in the United States and to improve their working conditions and to advance their opportunities for profitable employment. The bureaus of immigration, naturalization, labor statistics, and the children's bureau, all of which had existed in the Department of Commerce and Labor, were taken over by the Department of Labor. In addition to fulfilling its charter through the bureaus just named, the Department, through the direct administration of the Secretary's office, is engaged in finding profitable employment for the unemployed and in the mediation of labor disputes.

The *Bureau of Immigration*, in addition to administering the laws relating to immigration and the Chinese exclusion laws, investigates violations of the alien contract laws and, since the commencement of the present war, has had charge of the detention camps for alien enemies. The *Division of Information*, under the Bureau of Immigration, gathers from all available sources information with reference to opportunities for employment of immigrants and others seeking employment. It is suggested in a recent annual report of the Secretary of Labor that the association of a wage-earners' employment service with the immigration service submits the employment service to embarrassing antipathies and obstacles. For this reason the activities of this service have come to be administered largely through the office of the Secretary.

The Department *Employment Service* is now an established agency. An employment service branch at the barge office, New York City, was the one first opened. There are now thirty-four employment offices scattered throughout the United States. This service cooperates with the Post Office Department and the Departments of Agriculture, Interior, and Commerce; with state and city organizations for the welfare of workers, including employment bureaus; and with semi-official and unofficial agencies,

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such as the National Farm Labor Exchange and the National Chamber of Commerce. By reason of the war the employment service work is much increased. For example, it has worked with the Council for National Defense and has given assistance in securing labor recruits to the Bureau of Registration and Information of the National League for Woman's Service and the Boys' Working Reserve, the latter being an organization composed of boys over 16 who have passed a medical examination and been found physically fit for light farm work. The boys are organized into groups to work on farms under a camp master. In addition, the employment service has secured access to lists of contracts for materials to be furnished for the use of the army, the navy, and the marine corps. These lists are sent to the thirty-four federal employment offices throughout the country so that these offices may investigate the needs of the producers in the way of labor, the wages paid, the number of workers desired, the conditions of work, and so on, and then endeavor to find the unemployed who are suitable to the jobs.

The *Bureau of Naturalization* supervises work in connection with applications for naturalization submitted to 3,500 designated courts in the several states and territories. It cooperates with public schools in disseminating information concerning citizenship and civics in day and evening courses.

The *Bureau of Labor Statistics* came into existence first as a bureau of the Department of the Interior, later it was called a department of labor with a commissioner at its head, then it was made a bureau of the Department of Commerce and Labor, and finally it was made a bureau of the Department of Labor. Its function is to acquire and diffuse useful information on subjects connected with labor, its relations with capital, hours of labor, wages and earnings, prices of food and commodities, and also to seek means of promoting the social and intellectual development of workers. It has recently been charged with the duty of making a study of the cost of living in the District of Columbia. It investigates causes of and facts relating to labor disputes. Its publications include studies of wages and hours of labor in specified industries, unemployment, British system of labor exchanges, effect of minimum wage determinations, industrial experience of trade school girls in Massachusetts, care of tuberculosis wage earners in Germany, various types of insurance and compensation in the United States and foreign countries, the effects of workmen's compensation laws in diminishing the necessity for the employment of women and girls in Germany, industrial accidents and hygiene, occupational diseases, fatigue and efficiency, collective bargaining in various trades, conciliation and arbitration, labor laws and court decisions affecting labor, voca-

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tional education, welfare work, and many more subjects. In addition, it publishes *The Monthly Review*, giving current information on labor subjects, containing various papers of interest to the workers, and lists and reviews of official and unofficial publications in this and foreign countries on labor subjects. Until the creation of the United States Employees' Compensation Commission by Congress on September 7, 1916, the Bureau of Labor Statistics had to investigate cases of injuries to employees of the government, while in the performance of their duties, and to award compensation therefor.

The *Children's Bureau* is authorized to investigate and report upon all matters pertaining to children and child life, and to enforce the provisions of the federal child labor law which became effective on September 1, 1917. This bureau has made studies of infant mortality in different communities, all of which show the coincidence of high death rates and low wages and low death rates with good wages. It has also studied child welfare in rural communities, the mortality among mothers on account of diseases connected with pregnancy and confinement, and the administration of child labor laws in various states. It has also fostered and promoted the observance of a nation wide "baby week" in cities of all sizes throughout the United States.

In administering the provisions of the federal child labor law it will examine evidence of age submitted by children between fourteen and sixteen who are going to work and will issue or refuse federal certificates of age, as the facts warrant. It is also empowered to enter and inspect mines, quarries, mills, workshops, canneries, factories, etc., at any time in order to carry out the provisions of the act, which prohibits the shipment in interstate or foreign commerce of the products of any such places if they have employed children in violation of the federal law.

The act creating the Department of Labor says that "the Secretary of Labor shall have power to act as mediator and to appoint commissioners of conciliation in labor disputes whenever in his judgment the interests of industrial peace may require it to be done." In carrying out this power the department neither dictates nor arbitrates—it negotiates and recommends. A summary of the disputes concerning which the Secretary either offered or was asked to extend his good offices indicates many satisfactory adjustments and some which were not satisfactory. A review of this interesting work is in the Secretary's annual reports; a discussion of it would require more space than is available here. Disputes of employers with clerks, street and steam railroad employees, miners, longshoremen, teamsters, express drivers, steamboat workers, ship builders, and skilled and unskilled workers in many industries were dealt with. The Secretary's report indicates that the mediation work, in its results,

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has aroused a more general disposition on the part of employers to accommodate themselves to the ideal of the department, which is to foster industrial peace on the basis of industrial justice.

LABOR SUBJECTS STUDIED BY FEDERAL DEPARTMENTS¹

No student of labor problems can begin to do justice to his subject by dealing with the publications of only one of the federal departments. His studies must all have their foundation in the results of the enumerations concerning the population, manufactures, agriculture, mines and quarries, street and electric railways, wealth, debt, and taxation, etc., of the United States Bureau of the Census, and also in the Census Bureau special studies of defectives and dependents, including the blind and deaf, the insane and feeble minded in institutions, paupers in almshouses, and prisoners and juvenile delinquents, and of the mortality and birth statistics of the country.

The commercial information including statistics of exports and imports, published by the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce; the technological papers of the Bureau of Standards; inquiries concerning food fishes and other matters made by the Bureau of Fisheries; matters pertaining to navigation, steamboat inspection, lighthouses, the survey of coasts, etc., all bear more or less directly upon labor problems.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

The work of investigation, demonstration, propaganda, and prosecution of the many bureaus of this enormous department can hardly be touched upon in this article. It has above all things demonstrated the practical character of its work and today but very few of the farmers of the country are uninfluenced by it. Its publications present in popular form information concerning discoveries and recommendations of its scientists, specialists and field workers.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

This Department, among other things, is charged with the conservation of the people's land and other natural resources (except forests and forest lands dealt with by the Bureau of Forestry of the Department of Agriculture). How honorably the various secretaries of this Department have discharged their trust is a matter of current history. No studies of opportunities for the release of human labor can be complete without a knowledge of the work of the General Land Office, the Reclamation Service, the Geological Survey, the Bureau of Mines, or the Indian Office.

¹ See article on the U. S. Department of Labor for subjects studied by that Department.

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The supervision of the issuance of patents on inventions is lodged with this Department.

The work of the Bureau of Education deserves special attention in connection with labor studies. Its publications cover a wide range of subjects and may be had for the asking.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT

The reports of the bureau of internal revenue of this Department, bearing income and other taxes are of interest to students of labor problems. The federal farm loan board is another example of government regulation of business.

The Public Health Service, strange to say, is under the direction of the Treasury Department. It makes investigations and publishes reports concerning disease and enforces interstate quarantine; this latter function includes the sanitation of interstate carriers.

INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION

This commission may inquire into the management of the business of all common carriers. Its regulatory powers are very broad and their scope may be ascertained by referring to its annual reports.

PART FIVE

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST, LABOR AND CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENTS

THE INTERNATIONAL

Since the events recorded in the first number of this Year Book, heroic attempts to revive the International have been made, but the capitalist governments of the warring nations have successfully thwarted every plan to hold the necessary gatherings of representatives which would reunite the proletarians of the world.

The Socialist Party of the United States was the first to move — through its National Executive Committee — for an international conference. Early in 1917 a cabled invitation was sent to all Socialist parties in Europe suggesting that a Conference be held. The Dutch-Scandinavian Committee thereupon took action and issued a call for a meeting in May. It was suggested that delegates from the different parties meet first for a confidential discussion of a peace program and that the Socialists of the Allied countries as well as those of the Central Powers first meet separately and then, in case an agreement had been affected, come together for a final meeting. After much delay, delegates from the two German parties as well as from the Belgian Social Democratic Labor Party and from the French Socialists arrived, held confidential discussions, but no agreement seemed possible. Nevertheless, it seemed almost certain that the French, Belgian and British Socialists would agree to meet the Germans and Austrians unofficially. But the Allied Governments opposed any such conferences and the matter was dropped.

The Russian Revolution gave the conference idea a new lease of life. Henderson, the Labor member of the British war Cabinet, after visiting Petrograd and discussing the matter with the Socialist, Albert Thomas, French Minister of Munitions, and with the Russian Socialists, Skobelev, Tseretelli and Tchcheidze, agreed that an international meeting was most desirable. The All-Russian Council of Workers' and Soldiers' Delegates thereupon called a new conference to meet in Stockholm in August. Most of the parties accepted, among others the French party, both German parties, those of Austria, Hungary, the Independent Labor Party and the British Socialist Party as well as the Labor Party of Great Britain, the Socialist Party of the United States and the Belgian S. D. L. P.

But this conference also failed to eventuate. First, the government of the United States, then those of France, Great Brit-

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ain and Italy refused passports to the elected delegates. In this country, Morris Hillquit, Victor L. Berger and Algernon Lee had been elected delegates to attend the Stockholm meeting, as well as the Conference which was to have been held in London of Allied Socialist representatives. On October 5 the Stockholm Conference was postponed indefinitely.

A conference of the Socialist groups adhering to the Zimmerwald program took place in the latter part of September at Stockholm, but it had no special significance. It was called to consider the Grimm affair, which had created a stir in Socialist circles, and ended in the reorganization of the Zimmerwald Agitation Committee. Grimm, Morgari, and Mrs. Balabanoff resigned from this committee and Hoglund, Lindenhan, the mayor of Stockholm, and a third Scandinavian Socialist were elected to fill the vacancies. The Bureau of this Committee was moved from Berne to Stockholm.

AUSTRIA

An empire and so-called constitutional monarchy, but the government dissolves the Parliament so often and rules without it for such long periods that the "constitution" is very often "out of order." The Parliament was dissolved in 1914, soon after the assassination of Archduke Ferdinand and his wife, and only reconvened in May, 1917, as a direct result of the assassination of Count Stuergh, the premier, by Friedrich Adler. The Parliament—the Reichsrath—is composed of two Houses, the Upper House (Herrenhaus) and the Lower House (Abgeordnetenhaus). The Herrenhaus is partly hereditary and partly nominated by the Emperor; it has about 270 members. The Lower House is elected for six years by manhood suffrage, every male citizen over 24 years of age with a twelve months' qualification having a vote. There are 616 members.

A considerable part of Austria is industrially very highly developed, while the rest has remained purely agrarian. The Austrian *socialist labor movement* began to make itself felt in the early seventies of the last century, but could not elect a representative to the Austrian Parliament until 1901. Tremendous exertions and a strong organization were necessary to elect ten men, every one of whom was elected in the voting-class set aside for the workers. With this success the struggle began for the democratization of the highly reactionary, plutocratic and at the same time feudalistic suffrage laws.

In January, 1907, after a threat of a general strike, the democracy was successful. In May of the same year the first elections under the general and direct suffrage laws were held, and 87 Social-Democratic representatives were returned, polling 1,041,948 votes. The hopes which this victory roused were bitterly disappointed. Before the Parliamentary machine could begin to work nationalistic struggles broke out with renewed vigor and made all social and democratic reform impossible. The Social Democratic Party, which had gone into the suffrage fight full of revolutionary spirit, began to show

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signs of opportunism. The natural desire of the parliamentary group and of the party leaders to rescue something, at least, from the unfortunate parliamentary situation, led to a period of "practical politics." The election of 1911 brought a slightly increased vote. The number of representatives fell to 82. Another element that helped to weaken the Austrian movement was nationalistic controversy in the ranks of the party itself.

The *Social-Democracy* of Austria consists of two large groups, the German group, which had, before the war, 1,369 branches and a membership of 145,524, and the Bohemian group, with 2,473 branches and 144,000 members. There are also Polish, South Slavic, Italian, Croatian, and Ruthenian movements, which all, with two exceptions, have representatives in the Reichsrath.

The German-Austrian party press consists of 29 newspapers of which, since the war, five are dailies; four appear three times a week, 9 twice and eleven once a week. Since September, 1916, no newspaper from Austria has arrived in the United States and the few reports printed in the neutral European press are very inaccurate. Besides the Socialist newspapers there were the scientific monthly *Der Kampf* (suppressed in October, 1916), *Die Arbeiterinnen Zeitung*, *Der Abstinenz* (a temperance paper), *Bildungsarbeit* and the humorous fortnightly *Die Gluehlichter*, which has remained international. *Der Junge Arbeiter*, edited by Dr. Danneberg for the Young Socialist movement, has also been suppressed on several occasions, but is published at more or less regular intervals.

The last national conference of the German-Austrian party was held on March 25-28, 1916, in Vienna, and was attended by 246 delegates. It indorsed the position taken by the National Executive Board in support of the war and the government and voted down a resolution introduced by Friedrich Adler that "the traditional position of the majority of the Socialist parties toward war is responsible for the present split in the unity of the labor movement." The resolution proceeded: "The unity of the Socialist organizations of the world can be assured only when the Socialists of all countries recognise as binding decisions of the International Congresses in all international questions." Only fifteen votes were cast in its favor.

In 1916 conditions in Austria went from bad to worse. Socialist newspapers were suppressed in large numbers, speakers and organizers arrested and condemned to many years of hard labor, on the slightest provocation while military courts and military "law" ruled supreme. But even worse were the economic conditions of the people. Want and hunger were everywhere and in one province alone — Moravia — 48 persons were recorded in the month of July, 1916, as having died from starvation. A combined meeting of the National Executive Com-

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mittee and the Parliamentary group was held on Sept. 15 in Vienna and resolutions adopted which demanded the immediate convocation of Parliament, as well as steps for peace negotiations. Yet the government ignored these demands and replied in a curt three line letter. A few days afterwards, when the Premier Count Stuerghk had refused to attend a conference called by the leaders of all parties in the interest of the resumption of constitutional government, Friedrich Adler, the editor of *Der Kampf* and the secretary of the National Executive Committee, shot and killed Stuerghk. Three weeks later the government invited the party leaders to a Conference and consented in principle to the convocation of Parliament. Adler was brought before a special court—against all provisions of the Austrian constitution—and condemned to death. The Lower House of Parliament declared this trial unconstitutional and ordered a new trial. As a result of agitation throughout the world, the death sentence was later commuted.

The death of old Emperor Francis Joseph and the succession to the throne of young Karl helped somewhat to relieve the tense situation created by the unbearable reactionary political conditions. The new policy of forbearance is most apparent in the treatment of the Czech nationalists. The Austrian policy on the whole is, however, still reactionary and bureaucratic.

The Austrian trade union movement is closely allied with the party organization. There are 428,000 members, 58,000 of them women, and including 322,000 Germans, 70,000 Bohemians (Czechs), 20,000 Poles, 9,000 Italians, 6,000 Slavs and 1,000 Ruthenians. The separatist Bohemian movement has 85,000 members. There are, also, Christian, i.e., Catholic, organizations with 80,000 members.

The socialist labor union press consists of 50 German, 44 Czech, 8 Polish, 1 Slovak, 1 Ruthenian and 3 Italian organs. This, alone, shows the difficulties that beset the path of the labor movement in the Austrian nations.

The trade union movement has suffered greatly through the war. The last available report, January, 1917, showed a total membership of 500,000 men and women, a loss of at least 100,000; but it is probably twice as large. A Hueber, Secretary of the Gewerkschafts-Kommission of Austria represented the Austrian labor union movement at the International Trade Union Conference held in Holland in July, 1917.

The Secretary of the Austrian S. D. L. P. is: F. Skaret, Rechte Wienzeile 97, Vienna.

The Secretary of the Czech-Slav S. D. P. is: Anton Bruha, Hybernska 7 Prag ii, Hungary.

The Secretary of the Gewerkschafts Kommission is: A. Hueber, Rechte Wienzeile 97, Wien.

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BELGIUM

Constitutional Kingdom. Bi-cameral system. Chamber of Representatives: direct and proportional representation, 4 years term. Every male citizen over 25 with 12 months' qualification has one vote, but property and other qualifications give one or two supplementary votes. Failure to vote is a misdemeanor. 186 members. Members receive \$800 per year. Senate 120 members; 27 elected indirectly by the provincial Councils: Others are elected on proportional system. Minimum age of elector 30 years. Property and other qualifications give one or two supplementary votes. 8 years term.

In the modern Belgian labor movement, the various divisions of the working-class act together to a degree unknown in any other capitalistically developed country. The Socialist party, the labor unions and the co-operative movement were until the beginning of the war, so closely allied that the divorce of the party organization from this union was seriously considered, in order to give the party more freedom of action. The outbreak of war prevented the carrying out of this plan.

The *Belgian Socialist Labor Party* was founded in 1885. It had first to struggle against the plutocratic election laws of the state, but with the labor and co-operative movements organized within the party movement, the party was well equipped from the start with men and funds. Although the labor unions were, for the time, purely local in character, and were built up under the influence of the Socialist Party, their early alliance meant moral and financial support for the party in its time of greatest need. Although it is difficult to determine the membership of the Belgian S. L. P. because the members of the Socialist trade unions and co-operatives are reckoned together, the number of Socialist deputies gives a fairly good picture of how the Belgian movement has grown in spite of the unfair election laws. The party had representatives in the Chamber of Deputies as follows:

1900	33	1908	34
1902	34	1910	35
1904	28	1912	39
1906	30	1914	40

It is difficult to determine the size of the Socialist vote in Belgium, because of the plural voting system, and further because in many districts, it has been customary for Socialists and Liberals to unite upon one candidate to defeat the clerical opponent. The following figures have been given, although they can, by no means, be accepted as accurate:

	<i>Votes</i>
1904	305,361
1907	469,094
1910	483,241

The membership figures given out by the labor unions affiliated

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with the "*Union Commission*" (trade unionists which believe in the class struggle) may, however, serve as a guide:

<i>Year</i>	<i>Members</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Members</i>
1906	42,491	1910	68,984
1907	55,840	1911	77,224
1908	67,412	1912	116,082
1909	73,361	1913	131,405

Before the war, there were 1,200,000 men, women and children employed in the industries of Belgium: the labor unions had control of more than 25 papers, 21 of which were monthly, 2 semi-monthly and one weekly organ. Of these 8 were published for 51,740 French, 8 for 36,100 Flemish and 24,000 French and Flemish speaking members. The organ of the Belgian seamen had a circulation of 2,000 and was printed in the Flemish, English and German languages. The largest union is that of the metal workers, with 30,000 members whose organ was printed for 20,000 members in French and for 10,000 in the Flemish language.

The Belgian refugees in Holland, Great Britain and France organized themselves into separate trade unions, which are a part of the Belgian Labor Federation and are at the same time affiliated with the Dutch, English and French trade union movements. Through an exchange system those workers retain their membership in the Belgian labor movement while they are also part of the organized working class of the countries they temporarily live in. These Belgian unions in the three named countries number about 70 unions with more than 3,000 members.

The so-called Christian labor unions which are organized upon a religious basis by the clericals in the interests of the capitalist class, and are, of course, completely separate from the bona-fide working-class organization, in 1913 claimed a membership of 71,235. The General-Secretary of the Belgian class-conscious labor organizations proved that according to their own financial reports, their membership could not exceed 42,066.

The Belgian Socialist movement took a definite stand on the war. On August 3, 1914, the Council of the Belgian Labor Party decided to abandon all anti-war demonstrations, and issued a manifesto to all Socialist workingmen in which it was stated that they were justified in exercising the legitimate right of self-defense.

The whole Belgian Party, whose headquarters have been transferred to London, during the war, seems to be unanimous on the war question. In Ghent, Ansele is publishing the *Vooruit* under German military censorship. Before the war the *Vooruit* had a circulation of about 20,000, since then, partly because a number of Party newspapers ceased publication, it has risen to 34,000. The paper is published in the Flemish language.

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while the Socialist organ in Brussels appears in French. Anseele, the editor of the *Vooruit*, has held the paper aloof from all chauvinism, free from all hatred and nationalist prejudice. There is besides a local weekly *Volksteem*, which prints 1,000 copies and a weekly, *La Voix du Peuple*, printed in the French and Flemish languages in Paris.

The Secretary of the Socialist Labor Party is, L. Vandesmissen, Rue Joseph Stevens, 17, Brussels.

The Secretary of the Labor Federation is C. Mertens, Rue Joseph Stevens, 17, Brussels.

BULGARIA

Constitutional monarchy. King and National Assembly (Sobranje). Parliament—the Reichsrath—is composed of two Houses, the Upper House one representative for every 20,000 population.

It is no mere accident that Bulgaria should have the strongest and most highly developed working-class movement of all the Balkan States. Capitalist development has progressed in Bulgaria during the last 15 years, with tremendous strides, has built up an industrial system, and with it, an industrial proletariat, has introduced a system of extensive farming and, by so doing, has turned the farming population of Bulgaria into a class of exploited and oppressed farm hands and wage slaves. In spite of the industrial development of the nation it was impossible, until 1911, to succeed in sending a representative to the Sobranje. In December, 1913, there were already 37 Socialist representatives. In 1901, the two *Socialist Parties*, the "Broadminded" and the "Narrowminded,"—the Opportunists and the Radicals—polled 3,768 votes. The Socialist vote in subsequent years was:

Year	Votes	Year	Votes
1904	10,652	1913	107,000
1907	13,360	1914	85,489
1910	25,265		

Since October, 1914, the bitterness between the two Bulgarian Socialist parties has been augmented by the acquiescence of the "Broadminded" Socialists in the government's war policy. The "Narrowminded" Socialists still firmly protest against all wars and have endorsed the Zimmerwald Conference and its declaration of principles.

In 1916 a delegation of the "Broadminded" Socialists visited Berlin and declared itself fully in sympathy with the war-tactics of the German majority party. Several mass meetings in the leading industrial cities of Germany were addressed by these Bulgarian delegates. The Premier of Bulgaria stated at several public functions that the support of the "Broadminded" Socialist Party was of the utmost importance to the government

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and that he regarded its faithfulness to the country as one of the best services imaginable. He rewarded several prominent Socialists with important government positions.

The "Narrowminded" Socialist Party, on the other hand, suffered greatly from the bitter persecution of the military and civil authorities. Statistics published in January, 1917, show more than a thousand party officials and members in prison, while nearly 600 members of this party were forcibly sent to the front; the latter, of course, consisting of men who were either too old or not old enough to be reached by the compulsory military laws.

The "Broadminded" or "United Socialists" have seven, the "Narrowminded" four newspapers, which altogether have a circulation of 168,000. The Socialists had, on January 18, 1916, 5,800, the "Narrowminded" 3,900 members.

The industrial working-class organization of Bulgaria, like the political, is divided into two Federations, which look upon each other with feelings that are anything but amicable. The General Federation had, before the Balkan war, 8,502 members, which were decreased to 5,350 and, on January 1, 1915, the reported membership was 7,584. The participation of Bulgaria in the war was harmful to the movement, for a large number of its members were called to military service.

Besides this General Federation there is the (radical) "Free Bulgarian Union Federation," which had, before the Balkan war 4,845 members, but had sunk to 4,000 members in 1914. On October 1, 1915, it had increased its membership once more to 4,900. The men and women who are employed in public departments and municipal industries have also a national union, with a membership of 14,072, but are not permitted to join any "politically unsound" Federation.

The Secretary of the United Social Democratic Labor Party (Broadminded) is Constantin Bosvelieff, Journal *Narod*, Sophia.

The Secretary of the Social Democratic Party (Narrowminded) is G. Kyrkow, *Naroden Dom*, Levov Most, Sophia.

DENMARK

Constitutional monarchy. King and ministers responsible to the Legislature. The Diet is divided into two bodies: the Landsting (Senate) and Folkething (the lower house). The constitutional law, passed by both houses and signed by the king on June 5, 1915, which became operative on July 1, 1916, provides general suffrage (men and women) for both houses. All persons who have reached their 25th year, who are not receiving public charity, or who, if they received such charity in the past, have since repaid it, are voters. The Landsting has 72, the Folkething 140 members, elected proportionally.

The *Social Democratic Party* of Denmark was founded in 1878. Its development has been healthy, steady and gradual as the following table of election results will show:

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1878.....	767 votes, 0 Rep.	1898.....	81,870 votes, 12 Rep.
1881.....	1,689 votes, 0 Rep.	1901.....	48,015 votes, 14 Rep.
1884.....	6,806 votes, 2 Rep.	1908.....	55,989 votes, 16 Rep.
1887.....	8,406 votes, 1 Rep.	1906.....	76,612 votes, 24 Rep.
1890.....	17,282 votes, 8 Rep.	1909.....	98,079 votes, 24 Rep.
1892.....	20,094 votes, 2 Rep.	1910.....	98,718 votes, 24 Rep.
1895.....	24,510 votes, 8 Rep.	1918.....	107,865 votes, 32 Rep.

There are at present four Social Democrats in the Lands-thing. In the municipal assemblies almost 1,500 Socialist representatives are actively engaged in furthering the cause of the workers. In the provincial legislatures 29 Socialists hold office. The party has nearly 70,000 members, a gain of 10,000 since October, 1915. The party press comprises 50 newspapers, which have an aggregate circulation of 200,000.

On September 29, 1916, a special convention was called for October 1, and in spite of the short notice given 279 regularly elected delegates, 5 representatives of the Labor Federation, one representative of the Young People's Socialist League, several Deputies, editors as well as 52 members of the National Executive Committee were present. The convention was called for the purpose of determining the party position in regard to the sale of the West Indies to the United States since this question had caused an extremely acute crisis. By an overwhelming majority the convention decided to delegate one of its parliamentary members to join the Ministry as a member without portfolio. The vote was 293 in favor, 32 against the motion, 3 delegates refraining from voting. The Parliamentary group selected Stauning, who still holds office.

The Danish Social Democratic Party has not joined the Zimmerwald Conferences. The Executive Committee announced its refusal to join in a letter to the International Socialist Commission in Berne, and its action was endorsed, against the opposition of a strong minority, by the Party convention.

Stauning was actively engaged in furthering the first Stockholm Conference, but without much success; the American Minister in Denmark made official representations against Stauning's activities, charging that they violated Denmark's neutrality.

The *Danish Labor Movement* is represented in the Danish General Federation and can be classed as one of the most admirable of labor organizations. More than 50 per cent. of all industrial workers are organized. Its relations with the party of the working class are almost without a flaw. The party is represented on the Executive Committee of the General Federation by two delegates; the General Federation also sends delegates to the Executive Committee of the party. The Socialist labor organizations have a membership of 132,000. A number of Syndicalist unions and organizations have 5,200 members; the Christian unions number 3,200 members and be-

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sides these unions with a decided standpoint there are a few without any declaration of principles, mostly "yellow organizations," maintained and controlled by the employers. Altogether there are 173,000 organized workers in Denmark.

The office of the Socialist Party is at Roemersgade 22, Copenhagen.

The Secretary of the Labor Federation is Carl F. Madrensdén, Norre Farimerbgade, 49, Copenhagen.

FINLAND

An autonomous Russian province, but of different race and language. The Diet consists of one House of 200 members, elected by equal vote of every Finnish citizen, 24 years of age (man and woman).

Finland is the first country in whose Parliament the Socialists outnumber the deputies of all other parties taken together. Since June, 1916, 103 of the 200 seats in the Finnish Diet are held by the proletariat through its representatives of the Social Democracy. Moreover, this was no accidental victory, but the genuine achievement of a movement which occupies, because of its systematic and well organized propaganda and educational work, one of the first places among European parties.

But Finland has followed, also, the example of revolutionary Russia in creating a government, only about half of which consists of Socialists, with the Socialist parliamentarian Tokio as Prime Minister, or as it is called in Finland, President of the Senate. The political crisis in Finland, growing out of the Russian Revolution, has at the hour of writing not been settled, but it seems to have passed the danger point. The Finnish Socialist Party in the Diet moved for absolute independence and separation from Russia and the motion was twice adopted. The Provisional Government of Russia declared the action null and void and dissolved the Diet. An amicable understanding was however reached that the whole proposition be postponed until after the convening of the National Constituent Assembly of Russia, which is to deal with the question of federalization of the different nationalities in the former empire.

Finland's Labor Party is not very old. It was founded in 1899, and in 1903 officially joined the International Socialist Bureau. The first labor organizations were founded in the beginning of the eighties at the instigation of clever capitalists who thought in this way to head off the formation of a class-conscious labor movement. Finland was, until the last decade of the nineteenth century, an agrarian nation, and possessed up to that time no industry of any importance. But the last years of the century were a period of social and economic development, which might truthfully be said to have constituted an industrial revolution.

Hand in hand with this development went the struggle for

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national rights, which had been sharply curtailed, after a short period of comparative freedom, by the Russian government.

The nationalist wave that arose as a consequence of this tyranny threatened completely to engulf the labor movement. But the young party emphatically declined to respond to any proposal towards a union of forces against Russia, and called attention to the oppression and persecution that had been the lot of the Finnish proletariat under the rule of the Finnish bourgeoisie. It promised to do its utmost to prevent the russification of Finland, but in its own sense, with its own means, according to its own methods. It should be said in this connection that the Finnish Diet had been one of the most reactionary legislatures conceivable. It was composed of four houses: the nobility (composed of the self-elected heads of the old feudal houses); the clergy (in which were seated members of the clergy and university professors); the Burgherrn (men elected by the towns, where the man with a fortune of \$100,000 had one hundred votes, the man with \$1,000 one, while the man who had no fortune at all had none), and the house of Land Owners, which was elected by the property owning farmers. A bill had to pass three of these four houses in order to become a law.

The Finnish Socialist Convention of 1903 in Forsea established the party as a political factor. The struggle for direct, universal, and secret suffrage for men and women was placed in the foreground of the political fight. The right of free speech and free assemblage, the extension of direct legislation and of social legislation, and a strictly Marxian program were adopted.

The numerical growth of the Social Democratic Party has gone hand in hand with the political development of the nation. At the time of its organization, in 1899, the Party already had 9,446 members. During the period of the Russian persecutions, 1901, their number was decreased to 5,894, but grew with lightning rapidity after the first Russian Revolution, 1905-06, to 85,000. It was not to be expected that this flood of new members, who joined the party under the influence of the fervor created by the revolutionary movement, should remain permanent, and so the year 1911 showed a decrease in membership to 48,406, which increased steadily, however, to 51,798 in 1912, to 56,700 in 1914, to 61,300 in 1915. The number of organizations increased from year to year, as well as the number of Socialist clubhouses. Here, too, Finland leads the world, for there are more Socialist clubhouses and headquarters than churches. The party's libraries are exemplary and their finances are in good condition. In 1903 the party was worth 285,098 Finnish marks, in 1912 6,256,886. There are six daily and 10 weekly newspapers.

During the past twelve months the party has developed greater

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strength than ever before. The want and starvation forced upon Finland by the war, the high cost of living and the sufferings of the masses, and at the same time a concentration of wealth in the hands of the few, which is unprecedented, forced a considerable part of the middle classes into the Socialist movement. In January, 1917, the membership was more than 70,000 and the circulation of the party press had increased enormously.

The Socialist vote and representatives have increased as follows:

	<i>Vote</i>	<i>Representatives</i>	
1904.....	100,000	—	
1907.....	329,946	80	including 9 women
1910.....	336,659	86	“ 9 “
1913.....	310,503	90	“ 10 “
1916.....	286,792	103	“ 24 “

The *labor union movement* in Finland grew with the Socialist movement. Both work hand in hand in absolute harmony. The paper, lumber, metal and textile industries are the best organized, some of them having fifty per cent. of the workers in their ranks. The total of all workers organized in the General Federation is 40,000. Finland has 8 labor union organs.

The office of the Finnish Social Democratic Party is, Puolue-toimikunta, Sirkuskatu 3, Helsingfors.

The office of the General Confederation is, Sirkuskatu 3, Helsingfors.

FRANCE

Republic with parliamentary government; the legislative power is exercised by the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate. The President of the Republic is elected for seven years by a majority of both Houses, sitting together. The Senate is composed of 800 members, indirectly elected for nine years by an electoral college composed of delegates of municipal councils or Deputies, Councillors General and District Councillors of the Department. One-third retire every three years. There are still a few life members. Chamber of Deputies: composed of 602 members, elected on manhood suffrage, every male citizen over 21 years of age (with a six months' qualification) having a vote. The Chamber is elected for four years.

The Socialist movement in France is very old. Its beginnings date from 1860, when under the influence of Marx and Engels, the first attempts at socialist organization were made. The Paris Commune of 1871 destroyed the early promise of the movement, for the best known Socialists were either murdered or banished wherever they had not already made their escape. In 1877 it again became possible to carry on systematic socialist organization work. A weekly newspaper, *L'Egalité*, was published to propagate Marxian socialist ideas. Two years later

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this movement received the indorsement of a labor union congress held at Marseilles and soon after the Socialist Labor Party was founded, which took part in an election for the first time in 1881; but it did not succeed in electing representatives. In 1883 the party was again divided into six different main groups, while a few members belonged to no organization at all.

The first great political victory was won in 1893 when 487,000 Socialist votes were cast and 40 representatives elected. It was at this time that Millerand's entrance into a capitalist Ministry caused a crisis in the party and once more split the movement into two main groups, one led by Jean Jaurès and Viviani who favored Socialist participation in radical capitalist ministries, the other led by Jules Guesde and Marcel Sembat, who were their most determined opponents. At the election of 1914 the desertion of the new "Socialist" ministers, Briand and Viviani, caused the vote to drop slightly, although the movement itself came out of the struggle strengthened and clarified, particularly as the former extreme wings, led by Guesde and Jaurès, were now in complete harmony, at least to all outside appearances.

A number of "independent" Socialists, elected by various small individual groups, have also been elected to the Chamber of Deputies. The vote in the more important national elections was as follows:

<i>Year</i>	<i>Vote</i>	<i>Socialist deputies</i>	<i>Independent Socialists</i>
1902	660,827	37	12
1906	877,999	54	20
1910	1,106,047	76	32
1914	1,379,860	101	29

At first the party organization made no great progress and even to-day stands far behind that of the other European nations. In 1912, when the party had already elected 76 deputies to Parliament, it had only 63,358 members in good standing, besides about 20,000, who were more than four months in arrears.

The French Socialists possess great influence in the municipalities. In the early nineties, when the German Socialists, for instance, just began to take part in municipal elections, the French comrades had already succeeded in getting control of big industrial centers like Roubaix, Toulon and Marseilles and had then instituted reforms on a large scale. In 1912, when the last general municipal elections were held, 282 cities and towns fell into the hands of the Socialists and 5,530 Socialists were elected to municipal offices. In Paris, which still retains its distinctly middle class character, and is controlled by a

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middle class radical nationalism, the Socialists elected only 15 out of 80 councilmen.

The Socialist press of France is comparatively weak. *L'Humanité*, the central organ, was self-supporting before the war and had about 30,000 subscribers. There were also before the war about 30 weekly papers of strictly party character. Many of them were discontinued soon after the war broke out.

The war brought about a great crisis in the French Socialist movement. When war was declared by Germany, Jules Guesde and Marcel Sembat, both formerly emphatic opponents of Socialist ministerialism, immediately became members of the French Cabinet with the consent of the party. Several months after Albert Thomas joined them as Minister of Munitions. In 1916 Guesde and Sembat severed their connection with the government, Thomas alone remaining in the Cabinet. Although it seemed at first as if the French party stood solidly behind its ministers, the first Zimmerwald Conference already showed that there was a party minority which vigorously and openly opposed the war attitude of the party. Since then this opposition has grown so strong, that it constitutes almost a majority. In fact, the last meeting of the National Council of the party showed such great strength of the various opposition groups that a split seemed unavoidable. The difference of opinion centred around the question of the participation in the International Socialist Conferences called by the Dutch and Scandinavian Socialist Committee.

While the "majority" steadfastly refused to take part in any conference which is attended by German and Austrian majority Socialists so long as Belgium and France were not evacuated, the opposition demanded the official participation of the party. The Russian Revolution worked for a quick change of attitude in this direction. While the majority is still against a conference called by the Dutch and Scandinavian Committee, it declared itself in favor of taking part in a conference called by the Workers' and Soldiers' Council of Russia. It is to be noted that Albert Thomas, who had visited Russia as a representative of the French Government, was instrumental in bringing about this change of front, just as Henderson had done in Great Britain. The refusal of the Allied governments to issue passports for the regularly elected delegates to the Workers' and Soldiers' Council Conference at Stockholm might result in the repeal of the "civil peace" agreement entered into by the Socialists and the government of France.

The strength of the French party organization in this crisis is very gratifying. Dubreuilh, the Secretary of the French party, in his report of March 6, 1916, states that the membership of the party before the war was 75,312. In 1915 24,638 new membership cards were filled out, and the due stamps collected

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from the Federations. When one considers that the North Department—occupied by the Germans—alone had 12,000 party members, and that the neighboring Departments, Pas-du-Calais, Aisne and Ardennes also had a large party membership, the French party well may be satisfied; 1,500 of its 2,000 branches are still active, the number of Federations is still, as before the war, 83.

The membership of the party has decreased during the last twelve months, owing to the enforced military service which is calling many thousands of organized Socialists to the front every month. But the party machinery continues to function and is doing effective work against food usurers and political reactionaries.

The French labor union movement is distinguished from those of all other nations in that it is mainly syndicalistic. This kind of labor union, which was created in France, and found active support in the southern nations of Europe, Italy, Spain and Portugal, attributes but slight importance to a well organized movement, and lays its main emphasis on the readiness to strike. It avoids centralization wherever possible, discourages great union funds and sees in the general strike the real weapon of the working-class. It either directly opposes or at least neglects political action as unimportant. The central organization of the French labor unions is the General Confederation of Labor with 600,000 members who are grouped into a number of national Federations, for the most part, almost entirely in organizations based upon the industrial form of organization. Just before the war there was a tendency toward greater centralization, toward higher dues and systematic support of the strikers. More and more, the desire to emulate, to a degree at least, the German form of organization had found expression.

The war has brought the French Syndicalists and the Socialist party into closer harmony than ever before. What no one could have foreseen has happened: the French Syndicates favored the war, recognized it as a war of national defense, and so failed to fulfill the apprehensions of the government. The Syndicalist daily paper, *La Bataille Syndicaliste*, was frequently so chauvinistic that it was called to order by the party newspapers. It finally ceased publication in December, 1915, because severe differences among the directors of the paper as to the war had broken out. In its place a weekly *Le Bataille*, is now being published. Meanwhile an anti-war minority has made its appearance in the Labor Confederation, under the influence of Alfred Merrheim. The Executive of the Metal workers union, second in strength and number among the French Syndicates, stands completely with the minority. The Woodworkers' International Union, as well as a good many smaller syndicates, have also recently joined the minority.

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The activity of the French labor union movement has considerably diminished during the last year. While occasional strikes have occurred, they have been mostly carried on by unorganized workers, often against the direct wish of the Confederation of Labor. The unions are today considerably weaker than they were three years or even one year ago.

The Secretary of the Socialist party is, Louis Dubreuilh, 37 rue Sainte Croix de la Bretonnerie, Paris.

The Secretary of the Confederation Generale du Travail is, L. Jouhaux, 33 Rue de la Grange aux Belles, Paris.

GERMANY

Constitutional Monarchy; the Bundesrat represents the individual States of Germany and consists of 61 delegates from the States composing the Empire. Its functions, with the important exception that its consent for any legislation is necessary, are mainly administrative, and consist in the work of 12 Committees for various Departments of State business. Declarations of war, the making of treaties, the dissolution of the Reichstag, and the settlement of disputes between State and State form part of the duties of the Bundesrat. The Reichstag represents the German nation and consists of 397 members. It is elected by all male Germans of 25 years of age, but on an allocation of seats which has not been changed since 1871, and now results in serious under-representation of the great cities and industrial districts. All new bills, finance and tariff legislation come before the Reichstag, but if it disagrees with any measures it has no effective power of enforcing its views on the government which can dissolve it at any time.

The German Social Democratic movement is not only the oldest in Europe, but was also—before the outbreak of the war—the strongest, the most efficiently conducted and organized, and the most harmonious movement in the world. In strength it was unexcelled; financially it was upon a firm basis. Its relations with the labor and co-operative movements, its influence upon the young workers of the country, its educational system and in short the whole organization of the German Social Democracy were a credit and an honor to the mental and moral efficiency of the German proletariat, which had created this movement by its own strength. The growth of the German Social Democracy, which went to the polls for the first time in 1867, is shown by the following figures:

<i>Year</i>	<i>Votes</i>	<i>Per cent. of total vote</i>	<i>Representatives</i>
1871	124,655	3.0	2
1874	351,952	6.8	10
1877	493,288	9.1	13
1878	437,158	7.6	9
1881	311,961	6.1	13
1884	549,990	9.7	24
1887	763,128	10.1	11
1890	1,427,298	19.7	35
1893	1,786,738	23.2	44

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<i>Year</i>	<i>Votes</i>	<i>Per cent. of total vote</i>	<i>Repre- sentatives</i>
1898	2,107,076	27.2	56
1903	3,010,771	31.7	81
1907	3,259,020	28.9	43
1912	4,250,329	34.8	110

This gain in votes went hand in hand with a marvelous growth of the organization. From a very modest beginning, the membership of the Social Democracy had on July 1, 1912, reached 970,112 (including 130,371 women). On July 1, 1913, the number was 982,850 (including 141,115 women), and on July 1, 1914, it was 1,085,000 (including 174,754 women). The party is organized according to Reichstag election districts, each of which sends its representative to the annual congress. These party congresses elect the Executive Committee, which is a body of ten salaried officials, as well as a Control Commission of nine members which is above the Executive Committee. The highest official party authority, after the annual congress, is the Central Committee (Partei-Ausschuss), which is made up of the representatives of 29 district federations. These district organizations elect their representatives to the Central Committee directly. At the beginning of 1914 the party had about 200 salaried secretaries all over the country.

Among the most admirable accomplishments of the German Socialist movement are the educational commissions which were organized by the party in conjunction with the labor unions, through an especially elected Central Educational Committee. Before the war, there were 364 branches, all provided with regular instruction, plans of work and assistance in the arrangement of lectures, artistic and occasional entertainments of all kinds. For this purpose alone the party in 1912-13 spent \$175,000. More than 3,500 lectures of high quality on all subjects, first-class theatre and opera performances, concerts and art exhibitions were arranged in this one year. Plans for the adaptation of motion pictures for the purpose of Socialist propaganda and instruction were well under way, when the war began. The party supports a school in Berlin, where each year men and women, chosen by the district organizations, receive a seven months' course of theoretical and practical education to equip them for the literary, organization and propaganda work of the party. During their school term these pupils receive not only sufficient funds to support them in Berlin, but their families also receive financial support. The budget of the school is about \$14,000 each session.

A special women's department, conducted by two salaried women secretaries, conducts the agitation among women, publishes leaflets and pamphlets and reports annually at the Women's Conference which meets in conjunction with the Party Congress. The Women's Conference in turn instructs the women's depart-

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ment and suggests lines of activity. Even broader is the activity of the party in the interests of the coming generation.

The Socialist press of Germany, like the German movement, has never found its equal in the proletarian movement. These papers are all exclusively party property and are wholly controlled by the membership who submit all complaints to a press commission elected by the party. These press commissioners elect the editors. In 1914 the German Social Democracy possessed 91 papers, 86 of them dailies; 83 are produced by printing plants which also belong to the party. In 1912 the total circulation of these papers was 1,500,000. In July, 1914, this circulation had increased to 1,780,000. The central organ is the Berlin *Vorwaerts*, which is also the local organ in Berlin. Before the war *Vorwaerts* alone yielded an annual profit of \$75,000 for the party. Its circulation was 130,000. The socialist humorous illustrated journal *Der Wahre Jacob* had a circulation of 400,000 and made a profit of \$12,500. The Woman's paper *Die Gleichheit*, edited by Clara Zetkin, had a circulation of 107,000, the scientific weekly, *Die Neue Zeit*, edited by Karl Kautsky, 15,000 copies and the *Kommunale Praxis*, the organ for municipal social science, 8,000 copies. The party publishing company in Berlin, in 1912-13, published 70 leaflets and pamphlets on a variety of subjects, aggregating 2,750,000 copies. In addition, almost all of the larger party printing offices publish socialist literature under the direction of the district party organizations.

In the different State legislatures the Social Democratic Party has 230 representatives; on July 1, 1914, there were in the different municipal and town councils 13,400 Socialists. The national headquarters in Berlin are located in a building erected by the party at a cost of \$1,125,000.

But almost all of this belongs to the past. No Socialist movement has suffered from the war more than that of Germany, partly because none had so much to lose. There is no longer unity of action; the party has been split up into at least two distinct parties and three or four more groups; and even in the trade union and cooperative movements dissension and sharp differences are everywhere apparent.

The Social Democratic Party of Germany was not unanimous in its position towards the war from the start, even if the outside world did not know it. When the war broke out and the Government brought the budget before the Reichstag, fourteen of the Socialist deputies had decided to vote against it contrary to the decision of the majority of the Reichstag group. By the plea of the necessity of showing a united front in this fateful hour the majority won and the minority desisted from an open break,—a very unfortunate decision. The opposition was composed of some of the most distinguished men and women of the German movement, including Haase, Liebknecht, Franz Mehring,

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Clara Zetkin, Stadthagen and Rosa Luxemburg as well as Karl Kautsky, who was somewhat more moderate in his criticism. But the minority grew rapidly. When the second war budget came before the Reichstag, Karl Liebknecht voted against it and 15 others showed their opposition by demonstratively leaving the chamber when the vote was taken. Liebknecht and Ruehle voted against the third war credit and 30 members this time left the Reichstag; and when on December 15, 1915, another war credit was introduced, twenty Socialist deputies voted against it. This minority led by Haase, Ledebour, Bernstein and Kautsky formed itself into the "Socialist Democratic Workers' Community" as a separate Reichstag group and finally as a new party—"The Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany" at a conference held during Easter, 1917, at Gotha, which city also saw the birth of the Social Democratic Party in 1875. But this new party comprises also the "Internationale" group, the organization of the more radical followers of Liebknecht, Mehring, Luxemburg and Zetkin and became in this way the connecting link of all socialist groups opposed to the governmental policies of the Scheidemann-Legien group. Two or three small organizations, the Spartacus group and one or two more of this type, are still outside of the fold, because they claim that the new party is not radical enough; but since they are comparatively insignificant in number and influence, their standing apart does not change the political situation. The different groups in the "Independent Social-Democratic Party" have a free hand in all matters of propaganda and tactics; but an agreement based on full understanding was reached so far as the war, imperialism and the problem of disarmament are concerned. The question of peace and the kind of peace that is desirable from the standpoint of the opposition also found all the groups united. Since no direct communication with Germany is possible, the numerical strength of the new party is unknown. About 22 members of the Social Democratic parliamentary group belong to it, also half of the Socialist deputies in the Prussian Diet. But while it can safely be assumed that a majority of the party members still in good standing adhere to the Scheidemann group, there can be no great difference in numbers between the membership of the old and that of the new Party.

The governmental (Scheidemann) party gave its membership in April, 1917, as 219,000, compared with 1,085,000, on July 1, 1914. A national conference of the Independent S. D. P., which was to have been held at Munich on August 27 was prohibited by the military authorities. The Government is continuing, as this one instance shows, its ruthless persecution of the opposition. Rosa Luxemburg was again imprisoned, this time for a technical violation of police regulations and Franz Mehring, a man of more than seventy years, was kept in jail until the prison physicians

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made a sworn statement that he would die if kept in jail a few months longer. Mehring was released and two months later was elected to the Prussian Diet as the successor of Karl Liebknecht. His Berlin constituency gave him an almost unanimous vote in spite of the fact that the governmental Socialists had also a candidate in the field, and that this candidate enjoyed the active support of all capitalist parties as well as of the Government. Many radical Socialist men and women are confined in so-called "Schutzhaft," that is, they are being kept in prison till the end of the war. Newspapers have been suppressed and editors have been punished, and the latter not only by the government but by the "majority" group as well. The editorial staff of the *Vorwaerts* was summarily discharged and governmental Socialists placed in their positions, after the party executive committee had instituted a kind of official censorship, with Mueller, a member of the Executive Committee, acting as censor. Clara Zetkin was also removed from the editorship of the Socialist women's paper, *Die Gleichheit*, and many more editors and editorial staffs have been similarly dealt with.

Both Socialist parties were active in pushing peace demands in the Reichstag; the "majority" group supporting the Bethmann-Hollweg administration, which declared, even if not very outspokenly, for a peace without annexations and indemnities, while the Independent S. D. P. demanded a more precise and concise declaration of peace principles. In general it can be said, that the Socialist parties constitute the German peace movement.

The free labor union movement grew up with the party. It was created by the party and is stronger than that of any other nation. The unions affiliated to the General Commission of German Labor Unions on January 1, 1914, numbered 2,548,763 members. Outside this organization there are 344,687 Christian and 106,400 Hirsch-Dunker (liberal) unionists. There are also Protestant, Catholic and "yellow" unions, but these altogether have not more than 140,000 members. Germany has 46 national unions. Germany is more and more adopting the industrial form of organization. The strongest German unions are the metal workers with 556,939 members, the building trades with 326,631, the transport workers with 229,785, and the factory workers with 210,569 members. The following shows the growth of the free (Socialist) unions:

	Unions	Members
1891	62	277,659
1896	51	329,230
1901	57	677,510
1906	61	1,831,731
1911	48	2,320,986
1912	47	2,530,390
1913	47	2,548,763
1914	46	2,052,377

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The *Correspondenzblatt der Gewerkschaften Deutschlands*, the weekly organ of the Trade Unions, shows in a statistical survey published on September 25, 1915, that on July 31, 1915, 1,061,404 members of German Socialist trade unions were serving in the army, that is, over 42 per cent. of the whole membership. The highest and lowest percentages of union members drafted into the army are to be found in the following unions: bakers 73.2%, gardeners 63.1%, factory workers, 61.3%, clerks 27.5%, tobacco workers 23.6%.

It is impossible to learn how strong the trade union movement of Germany is at the present time. The fluctuations in the membership of the strongest international union, the metal workers union, may serve as an indication in this connection. This union had 533,814 members on April 1, 1914; 323,565 on December 31, 1914; 233,107 on December 31, 1915, and 243,690 on December 31, 1916. The woodworkers union lost 40 per cent. of its membership during the first year of the war and gradually gained until on December 31, 1916, it had only a loss of 30 per cent. It can be assumed, as *Het Volk* recently stated,—that the German trade union movement has after three years of warfare, been almost halved and that it rallies to-day not more than 1,000,000 men and women around its standard.

National Headquarters of the German Social Democratic Party, Linden Strasse, Berlin.

The Secretary of the General Kommission der Gewerkschaften Deutschlands is C. Legien, Vors., Engelufur 15, Berlin.

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

Constitutional Monarchy; the King holds his position solely by the authority of an Act of Parliament. The supreme legislative power of the British Empire is vested in Parliament, which consists of two houses, the Lords and the Commons. The House of Lords is composed of the whole Peerage of England and of the United Kingdom, and of certain representative Peers of Scotland and Ireland, but many members of these latter have also English titles which give them seats in the House. The Lord Chancellor of England is the Speaker of the House of Lords. The House of Commons consists of 670 members—465 for England, 80 for Wales, 72 for Scotland, and 108 for Ireland. The division of parties in the House of Commons, after the General Election in December, 1910, was: Liberals, 272; Nationalists, 76; Independent Nationalists, 8; Labor, 42; Unionists, 272.

To the outsider the British labor movement in its industrial, political and co-operative aspects, presents itself as a bewildering and an entangled group of organizations without apparent plan and made still more confusing by the titles and designations of the different bodies. Although the movement has grown haphazardly and experimentally, it is more cohesive than it seems, and there are signs that a better co-ordination of activities will result in the near future. The movement is essentially practical and is particularly fertile in practical suggestions.

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Although the doctrinal side is not conspicuous, the great world tendencies of industrial democracy and Socialism are potent forces. Before judging the movement it must be carefully studied in relation to the conditions under which it works. The facts which are presented in the following description of the British labor movement have been partly drawn from the first (1916) issue of the *Labor Year Book*, published under the auspices of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress, the executive committee of the Labor Party, and the Fabian Research Department.

The "*Labor Party*," is a federation consisting of trade unions, the "Independent Labor Party," the "Fabian Society," the "Women's Labor League," one co-operative society, and a large number of trade councils and local labor parties. It has a national executive of 16 members consisting of eleven representing the trade unions, one for the trades councils and local labor parties and the Women's Labor League, three for the Socialist societies, and a treasurer, who is elected by an annual conference as a whole, while the other 15 members are elected by ballot at the annual conference by their respective sections. The secretary, who is not a member of the executive, is also elected by the annual conference. There is also a Scottish Advisory Council with an executive committee.

The *Parliamentary Labor Party* consists of those members of the House of Commons who have been elected under the auspices of the Labor Party. The number of successful candidates at the last General Election in December, 1910, was 42. Six have since died. Two new members have been elected at by-elections. The present strength of the Party is 35.

The *Independent Labor Party* is a distinct organization which carries on Socialist propaganda, its objective being defined in the following terms: "The Object of the Party is to establish the Socialist State, when land and capital will be held by the community and used for the well being of the community, so as to secure the highest possible standard of life for the individual. In giving effect to this object it shall work as part of the international movement." The late James Keir Hardie was the founder of the I. L. P. Its present representatives in the Labor Party in Parliament are J. Ramsay MacDonald, Philip Snowden, F. W. Jewett, W. C. Anderson, J. R. Clynes, James Parker and T. Richardson. There are nearly 800 branches with a membership of 60,000. Its official organs are *The Labor Leader* (weekly), and the *Socialist Review* (quarterly), as well as various local papers, weekly and monthly publications, of which the *Forward* of Glasgow is best known. The I. L. P. has throughout the war been in conflict with the war policy of the "Labor Party," declining to help the recruiting campaign and holding to the international socialist attitude as steadfastly as possible.

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The first national conference of the I. L. P. held after the outbreak of the war at the end of 1915 at Keswick adopted a resolution indorsing the refusal of the I. L. P. members in Parliament to vote in favor of participation in a coalition ministry. The following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"The Conference is of the opinion that it is the duty of the Socialists of all countries to determine once and for all that the Socialist parties shall in the future refuse to support any government in any war, whatever the apparent cause of the war may be, even if the war be conducted in the name of self-defense." The Conference also indorsed the Zimmerwald Conference and its decisions, and regretted that its delegates to Zimmerwald had been prevented by the British Government from leaving England.

The twenty-fifth Annual Conference of the I. L. P. was held at Leeds during Easter week, 1917. Notwithstanding the difficulties of railway traveling, the number of delegates attending constituted a record, and the Conference was one of the most enthusiastic, unanimous and useful in the history of the party. In spite of the unpopular attitude taken by the party on the question of the war, the National Administrative Council was able to report an increase of membership and an increase in affiliation fees. The activities of the party during the year have necessarily been directed toward the consideration of questions arising out of the war. Thousands of public meetings have been held; more than 300,000 pamphlets and nearly 4,000,000 leaflets have been issued from the printing press of the party. The party has gained an accession of membership from men and women who have been attracted to it by its attitude to the war, and by its spirited defense of civil liberty. During the year, the Independent Labor Party has tried to secure the resumption of communication between the sundered sections of the International. Of the seven I. L. P. members of Parliament, five are anti-war. The three delegates of the I. L. P. elected to the Stockholm Conferences were denied passports. The new Chairman of the party, elected at the Conference, is Philip Snowden, M. P.

The I. L. P. stands in the forefront of the active opposition to the war. It is, therefore, not astonishing that it has to bear the brunt of the battle. According to the latest reports more than one thousand members of the I. L. P. are behind prison bars and over two thousand members or sons of members of the I. L. P. registered as conscientious objectors to military service or any service to help the war. Of these, many have had to endure brutal treatment by both the civil and military authorities.

The *British Socialist Party*, formerly the Social Democratic Federation, which includes or has included H. M. Hyndman, Herbert Burrows, Joseph Cowan, William Morris, Belfort Bax, H. H. Champion, John Burns, Jack Williams, Edward Carpenter, the late Harry Quelch, and the late Walter Crane, issued a mani-

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festos at the beginning of the war which caused considerable dissension and at the annual conference in 1916 led to a split in the organization. Hyndman and his followers founded the National Socialist Party, while the other wing continued as the B. S. P. The weekly organ *Justice* is now the organ of the Hyndman group. Before the split the majority had adopted in a conference and by referendum vote an indorsement of the Zimmerwald Conference.

The majority group possesses a weekly organ, *The Call*, and had in April, 1917, 39 sections with almost 4,000 members. The National Socialist Party has twenty branches with about 1000 members. The British Socialist Party, under the leadership of J. B. Askew, is well represented among the conscientious objectors and the imprisoned Socialists.

The *Fabian Society* consists of so-called middle-class intellectual Socialists, among its distinguished members past and present being George Bernard Shaw, H. G. Wells (since resigned), Sidney Webb, Annie Besant, Sir Sidney Oliver and Graham Wallas. The "basis" of this society defines its aim as "the reorganization of Society by the emancipation of land and industrial capital from individual and class ownership and the vesting of them in the community for the general benefit. . . . Industrial inventions and the transformation of surplus income into capital have mainly enriched the proprietary class, the working class being now dependent upon that class for leave to earn a living." The Fabian Society's method has been called "the policy of permeation," because it urges its members to use whatever influence they possess in any circles whatsoever to promote Socialist opinions and to induce action in the direction of Socialism. The society has done valuable work by publishing books and numerous tracts. Its unofficial mouthpiece is *The New Statesman* (weekly). There are about 2,500 members belonging to the society in London, and also many small local Fabian societies in provincial towns and at most of the universities. The work of the society may be summed up as the research and dissemination of exact knowledge relative to economic and political subjects rather than soapbox propaganda.

The *Joint Board* is the representative of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress, the Executive Committee of the Labor Party, and the Management Committee of the General Federation of Trade Unions, and is composed of three members and the secretary of each section. The original object was to prevent overlapping between the three organizations, ensure frequent consultations between the national officials respecting political and parliamentary action and arrange for the offices of the three organizations to be in the same building. The Joint Board acts as a judicial body to de-

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termine the bona fides of any trade union affiliated or applying for affiliation to either of the constituent organizations, and has also acted as a court of arbitration in disputes between unions.

The *Women's Labor League* has over 100 branches in Great Britain. It has nearly one hundred members on town and borough councils, boards of guardians, etc. Its official organ is the *Labor Woman* (monthly).

The *Socialist Labor Party* represents the British section of the organization founded in the U. S. by Daniel DeLeon. It has 8 branches in various parts of Great Britain.

The *Socialist Party of Great Britain* was formed as the result of dissension in the Social Democratic Federation in 1914. According to its declaration of principles it enters the field of politics, "determined to make war against all other political parties whether alleged labor or avowedly capitalist." It has 25 branches, mostly in London.

The *University Socialist Federation* includes every kind of socialist organization in universities and centres of higher education.

The *Trade Union Congress*, which has met annually since 1871, has become a regular gathering of about 600 delegates, representing about 200 district trade unions including about 2,700,000 members. The unions are grouped into 12 sections from which the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress is annually elected. The Parliamentary Committee has for its functions the outlining of legislation affecting labor, the initiating of legislation as directed by the Congress, and transacting all business connected with the annual Congress. There are also the Scottish Trade Union Congress and the Irish Trade Union Congress. The Scottish Congress consists of 51 organizations with 225,000 members; the Irish Congress of between fifty and seventy affiliated bodies.

Two congresses called by the Trade Union Congress, or rather its Parliamentary Committee, were held in 1917. Each time the question of peace was the paramount issue. The congresses were called to decide upon the advisability of sending delegates to Stockholm. One of its leading members, Henderson, had become one of the five members of the War Council and, therefore, could be regarded as the representative of organized labor in the conduct of the war. And, indeed, labor stood behind the Government, even after Lloyd George, who as Munitions Minister had antagonized organized labor, became Prime Minister. Henderson was one of three men sent to Russia by the Government to assist Free Russia in its first and most critical period. The real purpose of this mission was, as stated later by Lloyd George in the House of Commons, to strengthen Russia against a separate peace with the Central Powers. Until then Hender-

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son had been a decided opponent of all International Socialist and labor conferences, especially any meeting with the Socialist and labor representatives of Germany and Austria. In Petrograd, after much discussion with the leading members of the Workers' and Soldiers' Council, he changed front and became such an enthusiastic advocate of the Stockholm international meeting (called by the Russian Council) that he decided to retire from his cabinet position rather than be refused permission to attend the Conference. A Labor Congress called in August supported him and voted by a two-thirds majority in favor of sending delegates. Yet, soon after that—not quite four weeks later—Henderson again changed his attitude and a second congress indorsed his new stand, although by the very small majority of 3000 votes out of about 1,350,000. It seems that the decision of the Allied Governments not to grant passports to any delegate to the Stockholm conference had much to do with the latest development in the ranks of British Labor. It knew that a renewed decision in favor of Stockholm would bring about a real fight between the organized forces of Labor and the Government and for one reason or another they wanted to avoid an open battle during the war.

The *General Federation of Trade Unions* was formed in January, 1899, out of a possible 1,500 trade unions, the number belonging to the Federation being only 146 with 1,086,000 members. The benefits given by the Federation are financial, advisory, moral, and educational; but its chief aim is to promote closer organization of industries and amalgamation of unions working in similar occupations.

The total number of separate trade unions in the United Kingdom at the end of 1914 was 1,123 with a total membership of 3,959,863. The growth of membership has been very steady. In 1899 the number was 1,860,913; in 1907 it had increased to 2,425,153; and in 1911 to 3,018,903. Apart from the Trade Union Congress and the Labor Party, which is a mixed federation composed of trade unions and socialist bodies, united for a special political purpose, and those local labor parties and trade councils, which, though federal in structure, have special functions of their own, there are about 119 federations, of which one-third are local, and in addition numerous joint committees and working agreements serving to link up the sections of the industrial movement. The General Federation of Trade Unions is one of the 119 federations mentioned above, as well as such organizations as the Miners Federation of Great Britain, the Federation of Engineering and Shipbuilding Trades, the Textile Federations, the General Laborers National Council, and the National Joint Committee of Postal Telegraph Associations. Trades Councils are local federations of trade union branches. They number 273 with 1,523,274 members. Their activities are political as well

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as industrial and they work in close association with the local labor parties. In certain countries and groups of countries there are federations of trade councils.

The relative merits of craft and industrial unionism promise to form the great subject of discussion in the immediate future. The *National Guild League* has been established to advocate "the abolition of the wage system and the establishment of self-government in industry through a system of national guilds working in conjunction with the state." It proposes that the guilds should be in the possession of the management of industry and that the state should be the owner of the means of production, and that all the guilds should be linked up in a Guilds Congress, which should act in harmony with the state, the guild representing the people as producers and the state representing the people as consumers.

The membership of the women's unions was 365,963 in 1916, and 438,600 in 1917. The women cotton weavers are the best organized, 43.68% being trade unionists.

The war has been instrumental in increasing the number of working women. While in 1914 Great Britain had 3,219,000 women working in its industries, this number had grown in April, 1916, to 3,807,000 and in July, 1916, to 4,085,000. Since then 400,000 more women have joined Great Britain's labor ranks.

The Labor Party, 1, Victoria Street, London, S. W.

Independent Labor Party, St. Bride's House, Fleet Street, London, E. C.

Socialist Party of Great Britain, 193, Gray's Inn Road, London, W. C.

Socialist Labor Party, 50, Renfreu Street, Glasgow.

The Fabian Society, 25, Tothill Street, Westminster, London, S. W.

British Socialist Party, Chandos Hall, 21a Maiden Lane, Strand, London, W. C.

IRELAND

Ireland is still largely an agricultural country and has, therefore, practically no industrial proletariat. With the exception of two or three of the larger cities the Socialist working class movement has so far had little chance to develop.

The *Independent Labor Party* which was formed five years ago from two Socialist unions has at present about 900 members, among whom are some of the best known and most influential union leaders. Not much older is the *Irish Workingmen's Party*, the acknowledged representative of the Irish unions. This party's effort to elect representatives to various town councils met with unexpected success. In Dublin the Workingmen's Party has elected seven of the eighty representatives; it also has six town representatives in Sligo, four in Wexford, and three in

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Waterford. While these working-class parties did not, officially, take part in the rising of 1916, some of their ablest leaders, Connolly, Skeffington, and others were executed for participation in the rebellion.

Several hundred members of the I. L. P. and the I. W. P. are in English prisons for refusing to be conscripted. The political movement is disorganized, and while the membership of the I. L. P. is given as 900—100 more than in the previous year—it is understood that this figure includes the members in the army and in prison, *i.e.*, that it represents much more than the real fighting strength of the I. L. P.

The *Irish Trade Union Congress*, the central organization of the Irish trade unions, was founded in 1894. Its affiliated bodies number between 60 and 70, and include a number of definitely Irish trade unions and trades councils, together with Irish sections of trade unions with headquarters in Great Britain. The Congress discusses general industrial and legislative measures. In 1913 it was decided to organize a distinct Irish Labor Party to deal with the political organization of Ireland in view of the expected Irish Parliament. The outbreak of the war and the postponement of Home Rule has prevented this plan from being carried out. The strongest of the Irish labor unions, the Transport Workers Federation which conducted the memorable transport workers' general strike in Ireland, was founded by James Larkin, who has become one of the most powerful figures in the Irish labor movement. Larkin has been, for more than two years, in the United States.

GREECE

Constitutional monarchy; Chamber of deputies, elected by restricted manhood suffrage.

Greece, in the last decade, has seen rapid growth in the Socialist movement, from a very weak and ineffective beginning. As early as 1885 there were attempts at Socialist organization by Dr. Drakoules, a Greek who had been brought up in Paris. In 1893 4,000 Socialist votes were polled in Athens. In 1901 Dr. Drakoules was elected to Parliament, where he was active during two terms of the Legislature. In 1904, Socialist votes numbered 7,800, in 1910 34,000, in 1912 28,000 and in 1914 12,000. Since the government in power can always materially influence the outcome of each election, mere figures can hardly give a correct impression of the Greek movement.

The agitation of Dr. Drakoules has not succeeded in creating a really proletarian movement, but a kind of nationalist democratic reform party. It is not surprising, therefore, that the demagogue Venizelos easily succeeded in capturing a large part of the Drakoules Socialist Party for his Greater-Balkan plan, which bore a certain resemblance to the Balkan Federation advo-

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cated by the Socialists. It was this section of the Socialist movement which declared with Venizelos for participation in the war on the side of the Allies and again at the bidding of Venizelos — declined to take part in the 1915 election. Drakoules was expelled from his own party in July, 1915, because he directly agitated for war. The Labor Federation, the smaller Socialist Party which had its seat in Salonika, adopted a strictly anti-militaristic international attitude and agitated energetically for the preservation of Greek neutrality. This party, which has joined the Inter-Balkan Socialist Federation and the Zimmerwald Conferences, sent a communication to the Convention of the Bulgarian "Narrow" Socialist Party in August, 1915, in which it severely censured the imperialistic plans of Germany, England and Russia, for acquiring power in the Balkan states. This letter unloosed the persecution of the Greek government upon the young party, and thereby made its cause still more popular.

The Socialist Party publishes a weekly bulletin. The Labor Federation has no regularly published organ.

The Labor Movement of Greece is concentrated in the Labor Federation of Athens and Piræus with which are affiliated 17 industries. There is also a number of so-called "yellow" unions, as well as a third, Socialist group, to which, on October 1, 1916, belonged 49 unions, mostly local in character.

The office of the Socialist Party is at 40 Rue du Pirée, Athens. The Secretary of the Labor Federation is P. Dimitratos, Salonika.

HOLLAND

Constitutional monarchy; First Chamber: 50 members elected for nine years by the provincial representatives from amongst the most highly assessed inhabitants; second chamber: 100 members elected by all male citizens not under 25 years, who are either householders or pay one or more direct taxes. An amendment to the Constitution has been accepted in first session providing universal suffrage for all male citizens over 25 years, and proportional representation.

Holland has shown a rapid development in the direction of the modern industrial state, and at the same time a strong growth within the Socialist and labor movements.

The *Social Democratic Labor Party* (S. D. A. P.) was founded in 1894. The following will give an idea of its growth:

1897	.....	13,000 votes,	3 Rep.	1905	....	65,743 votes	7 Rep.
1901	.....	38,279	" 8 "	1913	....	144,000	" 19 "

In 1913 the S. D. A. P. comprised 373 branches, with a membership of 15,667. The latest figures available are 24,700 members in 1916. *Het Volk*, the only daily paper of the party, had a circulation of 28,000 in 1912 and of 37,000 in 1915. The Socialist Women's organ has a circulation of about 6,000. There are also more than 30 weekly papers. The Young Socialist

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movement of Holland which was very weak before the war, has developed considerable strength and has its own organ.

The provincial states elected 52 Socialist representatives; 247 Socialists were elected to municipal assemblies; the latest figures, which indicate a growth in the number of the elected Socialist officials, are not available. A number of mayors were elected. In the Upper House the party has two representatives — van Kol and Polak.

After the election of 1913 resulted in a majority of 55 Liberals and Socialists, the Democratic-Liberal deputy, Dr. Bos, who was entrusted with the formation of a Coalition Ministry, offered the Socialist Party three seats, promising that the new Ministry would at once plan for a constitutional revision providing for general and equal suffrage. The Party Executive decided against the participation of Socialist Party deputies in the ministry, but called a special Party convention at Zwolle, where Troelstra presented a resolution on behalf of the majority of the Executive Committee, which favored participation in the ministry, should it prove necessary in order to secure universal suffrage and old age pension laws. This resolution was voted down. Another resolution was adopted, by 375 against 320 votes, to the effect that "a party like the Socialist Labor Party, which in its origin, its nature and its aims, is diametrically opposed to the political domination of the capitalist class, is under no obligation to join a capitalist ministry. The S. D. A. P. has, under the circumstances, done its full duty in the struggle for universal suffrage and old age pension laws by its promise to support any government, which shall provide for the establishment of these reforms."

The S. D. A. P. stood consistently from the beginning of the war for neutrality and helped to keep Holland out of the war. In July, 1914, when war seemed inevitable, Troelstra announced in the Chamber of Deputies, in the name of the Social Democratic representatives, that they would vote the funds necessary for the mobilization of the Dutch forces because they realized that only by so doing could the neutrality of Holland be assured. At the same time he emphasized the unalterable purpose of the party to oppose, with every means in its power, any aggressive participation in the war. The party has maintained this policy in spite of differences of opinion in regard to its soundness. A good many Dutch Socialists demanded that the Social Democratic representatives should vote against the military budget.

In addition to the S. D. A. P. Holland has had since 1909, a Social Democratic Party, which to-day counts over 600 members. Its official organ is *The Tribune*. This party, which sent representatives to the Zimmerwald Conferences, claims that "it alone represents the Marxian principles which were, at one time, supported by the S. D. A. P., which has, however, completely aban-

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doned them." To this party belong prominent Socialist writers, who have helped to influence the general Socialist movement in Holland.

The labor movement is badly split up. Besides the Federation of Trade Unions which was founded under the influence of the S. D. A. P. and which sympathizes with its general attitude, there are Protestant, Catholic and so-called Free—in reality anarchistic—unions, which work in active opposition to one another. The membership of the Federation of Trade Unions was October 1, 1916, 121,625; January 1, 1917, 129,023. The numerically strongest were (1917) diamond workers, 11,427; metal workers, 10,702; transport workers, 10,042; cigarmakers, 8,215; city employees, 8,018; agricultural workers, 7,568; carpenters, 7,500; factory hands, 5,176; typographical workers, 5,998. The relative strength of the different organizations is as follows: Protestant unions (1916), 16,850; Catholic Unions (1916), 41,514; "Free" unions, about 47,500 members. The whole strength of organized labor as expressed in the number of organized workers is about 240,000. While the party membership remained stationary, the labor movement increased considerably. The tendency is now apparent among conservative workingmen who belong to Protestant and Catholic unions,—unions organized in open opposition to the Federation of Trade Unions, which is the class-conscious trade union movement—more and more to vote the Socialist ticket. During a discussion of Socialism in the Chamber of Deputies one of the most prominent leaders of the anti-socialist trade-union movement was forced to admit this fact. The labor union movement, in fact, becomes more and more radical and in many cases a common ground is found for all the different union groups.

The Secretary of the Social Democratic Labor Party is G. G. van Kuyhof, 16 de Genestetsraat, Amsterdam.

The Secretary of the Labor Federation is J. Oudegeest, Reguliersgracht 80, Amsterdam.

HUNGARY

The Hungarian Parliament is composed of two Houses, the Upper House of Magnates and the Lower House of Representatives. The House of Magnates is composed of hereditary and life peers, including ecclesiastical and State dignitaries and has about 800 members. The House of Representatives (Reichstag) consists of 458 members, elected for five years on a property qualification franchise by male citizens over 30 years of age.

In this "free" nation, controlled by "Liberals," the laws governing organization and assembly are so reactionary that it has been impossible to create a Socialist organization. The labor union members who desire to support a Socialist movement pay their Socialist dues into a special sub-organization of their trade union. Thus the labor unions are the backbone

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of the Socialist Party, because without their assistance even the most elementary organization would be an impossibility. It is, of course, difficult to determine the party membership for this reason. In 1914, there were 61,300 members, against 59,623 in 1913, and 52,738 in 1912. In 1913 there were 111,966 labor unionists; in 1914 their number had increased to 134,600.

The vote in Hungary is confined to the propertied classes, and is divided between the great feudal landowners and the liberal bourgeoisie. The farmworker is absolutely and the industrial working class almost wholly without political rights. Thus the Social Democracy, with 136 representatives in municipal offices, polled a vote of only 85,000 at the last national election, and was unable to send a representative to Parliament. But the reactionary character of Hungarian political conditions does not mean that revolutionary activity is impossible. The party has for over ten years fought with admirable vigor and tireless energy for greater political freedom. In fact it was due to its frequent public demonstrations and protest meetings that the Tisza Administration finally in 1914 consented to consider a so-called election reform, which was, however, anything but a real improvement. According to the new election laws in the city every man who is over thirty years of age can read and write, and fulfill a number of other exceedingly complicated conditions fixed by the provisions of the new election laws, shall have the right to vote. In Budapest, with over 100,000 workers past thirty years of age, hardly 40,000 are eligible to vote. The labor vote, therefore, is but an unimportant factor in Hungarian politics. So far there has been no election under this apology for election reform.

Hungary also has its nationalistic question, though it has not led to the fierce conflict that arose in Austria. The Hungarians (Magyars), although they are not in the majority among the other races of Hungary, maintain a privileged position, which has embittered the Germans, the Slavonians and the Roumanians and has led them to organize as national entities.

In the Spring of 1917 a secret party convention was held—the first since 1913—28 provincial organizations (38 delegates) and 47 small organizations from the capital districts (120 delegates) were represented. The convention sent greetings to the Russian proletariat and reaffirmed its adherence to the International. It demanded from the Hungarian Parliament the support of the Russian people and protested against the use of arms to combat or defeat the Russian Revolution. At the same time the convention demanded political freedom for the Hungarian people, especially equal suffrage for men and women of age. The Party Congress furthermore called upon the Central Powers to publish their peace proposals and to declare themselves against annexation and punitive indemnities, for obligatory arbitration

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boards for the settlements of all international differences, gradual disarmament and the free development and independence of all nations, small or big. The Convention pledged the party to work for peace and expressed its hearty sympathy with all Socialists who suffered through their steadfast and courageous fight against war and militarism. The membership had decreased considerably, but the organization itself had remained intact and was in good working order. It leads the fight for political reform during the war and receives strong support from elements which hitherto were opposed to Socialism. The party press has gained in subscribers and is still making headway. The force of the Socialist opposition was best shown by the repeated governmental offers of official recognition of the Party provided it dropped its anti-war activities.

The Hungarian party press includes one Hungarian central organ, a daily paper called *Nepssava*, the weekly German organ, *Volksstimme*, one Roumanian, one Serbian and one Slovak organ and a number of local newspapers in Kassa, Pecs, Temeswar, Pozsony, and Fiume (Italian). The scientific socialist organ *Socialismus* is published monthly.

In 1913 the party consisted of 66 party-labor union organizations in Budapest and 234 in the rest of the country. The Hungarian Woman's and Young People's movements have shown a gratifying development in recent years, not only in industrial sections, but also among the agrarian proletariat.

The labor movement is, considering the comparatively undeveloped industrial state of the nation, very good. In 1909 there were 85,266 members; on January 1, 1914, the number had increased to 134,600 (110,300 men and 24,300 women). The number of organized women rose much more rapidly than that of the men. The growth of the labor union movement is shown by the following:

<i>Year</i>	<i>Members</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Members</i>
1901	9,999	1908	102,054
1902	15,290	1909	85,266
1903	41,188	1910	101,657
1904	53,169	1911	110,432
1905	71,173	1912	106,570
1906	129,332	1913	111,966
1907	130,332	1914	134,600

The marked loss in membership in 1909 and the slow growth since that year are attributed to a severe industrial crisis and to a period of exceptionally brutal persecution of labor unions and Socialists. The organization of the agrarian workers was particularly promising. They were not permitted to organize until 1906 when they began with 13,814 members, which had increased

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to 48,616 members in 1907. Then, because extensive strikes were threatened among the farmworkers the government at the urgent request of the feudal landholders so actively persecuted these organizations that they have almost gone out of existence.

The Secretary of the Hungarian Social Democratic Labor Party is E. Buchenberger, Conti-utca 4 Budapest viii.

The Secretary of the Ungarlaendischer Gewerkschaftsrat is Samu Jaszai, Conti-utca 4, Budapest viii.

ITALY

Constitutional monarchy; senate and chamber of deputies. Senate consists of persons who have attained high office or dignity in the public service, or distinction in art, science or letters, or who pay at least \$600 a year in taxes; nominated for life by King, on recommendation of Ministry. At present 400 members; number unlimited. Chamber of Deputies: consists of 608 members, one to every 71,000 population. Suffrage granted to every man 21 years old, but is denied to those younger than 30 who have neither done their military service nor learnt to read and write.

The *Socialist Party* of Italy has since the first day of the war been practically unanimous in opposing participation in the world war.

When in 1912 the official party organization opposed the Tripoli adventure, Bissolati and Podrecca, the editor of *L'Asino*, with two other representatives, openly favored the governmental policy and were, in consequence, expelled from the party by its Congress. The party now faced a severe crisis. Of 38 deputies, 16 joined the Reformist Party, which, though it has since gained considerably in membership and parliamentary influence, has not grown nearly as fast as the Socialist Party, which to-day is more united and more powerful than ever before. The Reformist Party, in the Ministerial reorganization in May, 1916, succeeded in placing Bissolati and three other members in the Cabinet, where they were the wildest and the most ardent supporters of Italian intervention.

The party suffered for years from internal strife and differences on questions of principle and tactics, which explains the slow growth of its organization. The differences were not of a purely political nature. The struggle between the trade unionists and the Syndicalists in the labor movement had an important influence upon the party. The following shows the increase in party membership:

1900	19,000	1912	25,000
1902	37,000	1913	37,000
1904	45,000	1914	42,000
1908	40,000	1915	49,000
1910	30,000	1916	64,000

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The election returns were as follows:

<i>Votes</i>	<i>Representatives</i>	<i>Votes</i>	<i>Representatives</i>
1892 — 26,000	6	1909 — 339,000	40
1900 — 175,000	32	1913 — 960,000	59
1904 — 320,000	27		

In 1913 the Reformists polled 200,000 votes for their candidates, and elected 21 representatives. There had been 29 Socialist deputies in the Chamber after the Reformists broke away from the Party.

The Socialist Party has representation in nearly every municipal government. About 800 towns and cities have Socialist administrations, including such large cities as Milano, Bologna, Verona, Navara, Imala and Manza.

A party conference took place in February, 1917, in Rome. It was very well attended and showed a remarkable growth of the party, its press and allied organizations. According to the reports of the officials, the membership had risen to 64,000 in good standing, besides at least 25,000 former members at the front, who also are regarded as members in good standing. *Avanti*, the official organ of the party, received \$20,000 in donations in 1916 and more than \$15,000 in the first six months of 1917. A Socialist news agency was founded; this step had become necessary on account of the enmity of the capitalist press and the lying reports of the two Italian national news agencies in all matters pertaining to the activities of the Socialist and labor movements. The circulation of the press increased about 150,000 copies for the dailies and about 100,000 for the weeklies, which number about 100. The anti-war movement is growing so rapidly and gaining sympathy and support all over the country, that the strength of the Socialist Party to-day is by far greater than that of any single capitalist party. According to the *Tribuna*, the most influential paper of the Liberals, "The Socialists are the real rulers of Italy and could have the revolution if they only cared for it." This viewpoint has also been supported by Turati, who in a speech in Parliament stated that the Socialists did not want the revolution, which they could start at any moment, because it would only end in the overthrow of the monarchy but not of capitalism. "We do not want half-way measures or half-way revolutions. What we are after is the revolution, the social revolution, and we bide our time."

The Industrial Movement is divided into two distinct groups, one, the so-called Reformist group; the other, the Syndicalist organizations. Each of these groups possesses its own central organization. The Confederazione Generale del Lavoro is the older federation. It stands in close touch with the Socialist Party, and indorses its war-position, while the Unione Sindacale,

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an organization patterned after the French General Confederation of Labor, condemns all political action and sees in the general strike the chief weapon of the working-class. The Confederazione Generale del Lavoro counted 321,000 members in 1912, after it had lost 63,000 members through the railway-workers' organization joining the Syndicalist centre-organization. Since then, however, there has been a marked upward growth. In 1914, 420,000 members were enrolled under its banner, while the Unione Sindacale numbered only 120,000.

In April, 1917, a total of 740,000 organized workers was recorded; which means an immense increase inasmuch as at least 300,000 union men are at the front.

The industrial movement is in full accord with the political movement as far as the war is concerned. It vigorously opposes the war and takes part in all public demonstrations arranged by the party. There never existed such intimate and cordial relations between the two branches of the labor movement as since the war.

The industrial as well as the political labor movement support the Zimmerwald Conference and refuses recognition to the International Socialist Bureau. For this reason, no delegates were elected for the first Stockholm Conference; only after the Russian Workers' and Soldiers' Council had called the second Stockholm meeting, participation was decided upon and delegates elected. The Italian government refused passports and gave as its reason an agreement existing between the Allied governments.

The Italian labor movement took a lively interest in the Tresca case, which was the result of the Duluth ore miners' strike and the Mooney trial in the United States. Resolutions were passed at public meetings and considerable amounts of money were collected for their defense.

The Secretary of the Socialist Party is C. Lazzari, Via Del Seminario 87, Rome.

The Secretary of the Labor Federation is A. Rigola, Via Manfredi Fanti 2, Milano.

NORWAY

Constitutional monarchy; government by one House only. Storting consists of 128 members who are elected by universal suffrage. Since 1913 men and women over 25 years of age eligible to vote. In 1916, women were granted suffrage.

Norway is one of the most democratic countries of the world. The King, the present ruler, who was elected by the people, is hardly more than a mouthpiece of the popular will, as expressed by the Parliament.

The *Social-Democratic* Party was founded in 1887 and participated in an election for the first time in 1894 when it polled 732 votes. On May 1, 1915, it reported 53,800 members, 36,500

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of these living in the cities, 17,300 in the country districts. The increase in the vote is shown by the following Parliamentary election returns:

	Votes	Representatives		Votes	Representatives
1894..	732	—	1906..	43,100	10
1897..	947	—	1909..	91,268	11
1900..	7,013	—	1912..	120,077	23
1903..	24,526	4	1915..	196,000	20

The party lost representatives in the last election, although its vote was increased by 70,000. Of these 25,000 were women, voting for the first time; the remainder, however, represents a true gain. Although the Socialist vote is one-third of the total vote cast, the party is the second largest party in the Storting. It has relatively fewer elected representatives because the farming population elects two-thirds of the representatives.

The Norwegian party is represented in a large number of municipal governments. In Christiania, the Norwegian capital, 29 of the 84 municipal legislators are Socialists. The party controls 8 daily newspapers, 19 weeklies, which have an aggregate circulation of 128,600. The leading organ is the *Social-demokraten* published in Christiania, with a circulation of 31,000. The party owns its own press and news bureau, which furnishes daily news, editorials and correspondences for the party press. The party literature and publishing departments print and sell all party literature. For the last 7 years the party in Christiania has conducted a Socialist evening school where German and Norwegian literature and history, arithmetic, bookkeeping and political economy are taught. One hundred and twenty-two Labor Lyceums (25 in cities and 97 in country districts) belong either to the party, to the labor unions, or to the co-operative societies — in some cases to all of them.

The Woman's Federation of the Norwegian Labor Party in 1905 had about 2,600 members in 61 branches. Of these 11 were labor union organizations. The Storting has as yet no women members, as there has been no election since the women have become eligible for membership. There are, however, 27 women in rural town governments and 47 women in municipal legislative bodies and their number is steadily and rapidly growing.

The Young People's movement has grown considerably in recent years. It now has 6,000 members, publishes a weekly organ *Klassenkampen* (Class struggle) and has a strong radical influence upon the party.

The Labor Union movement of Norway, as in the other Scandinavian countries, is closely allied with the political working-class movement. All unions are class-conscious, and in consequence consider the Socialist Party their true political repre-

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sentative. The General Confederation, in January, 1916, had 70,408 members. Of these 17,876 belonged to the general labor unions, 14,376 to the metal workers, while the paper industry workers stand third with a membership of 6,031. Norway has altogether about 230,000 industrial workers, so that more than 28 per cent. are industrially organized. In view of the undeveloped character of the Norwegian industries this is an exceedingly good percentage. The following tables show the development of the labor movement, its effectiveness and power:

<i>Year</i>	<i>Membership</i>	<i>Income</i> <i>(in crowns)</i>	<i>Expenses</i>
1910	45,940	1,250,702.83	984,107.89
1911	53,115	1,938,868.39	1,963,445.10
1912	60,829	2,002,313.85	1,611,774.24
1913	63,812	2,004,308.85	1,697,074.32

In July, 1916, in the midst of tremendous conflicts between capital and labor the government under the direction of the employers forced the passage of a bill providing for obligatory arbitration boards. After all parties, with the exception of the Social-Democratic Party, had declared themselves in favor of the bill, the labor unions, in accordance with the decision of the labor congress held two years before, declared a general strike. Although 120,000 persons answered the call, the law was passed, in spite of this protest of organized labor, and after eight days the strike was called off.

The almost unbearable conditions created such general dissatisfaction that another general strike seemed imminent in April, 1917. Only concessions in regard to the food distribution stemmed the tide. The abdication of the king was demanded at many mass meetings. The Social Democratic Party gained much ground during this period of unrest.

Norway's labor movement—both the political and the industrial wings—sent representatives to both Stockholm gatherings.

The office of the Socialist Party is Folkets Hus, Christiania.

The office of the Labor Federation is Youngsgaten 13, Christiania.

POLAND

The Socialist movement in Russian Poland is older than that in Russia. It originated in the other sections of the former Polish Kingdom, in Cracow and Lemberg, where Socialist thought has always been an influence in the national revolutionary movement. This is probably the reason of Polish Socialism being more nationalistic in character than the proletarian movement among any of the other oppressed nations.

Russian Poland has three Socialist parties, two of which, the *Social Democracy of Russian Poland and Lithuania* and the radical wing of the *Polish Socialist Party* (P. P. S.) are part of

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the general Russian Socialist movement, and as such worked for the Russian Revolution, and regard the national liberation of Poland only as a part of their struggle. The third, the larger part of the P. P. S., is closely allied with the Austrian P. P. S. which supported the famous Polish Legion, and saw in the victory of the Teuton nations the fulfillment of its nationalist ideals. But this was changed when the Russian Revolution did away with czarism and Russian freedom dawned. The Polish Legion under the leadership of the Socialist general, Pilsudski, felt the call of Free Russia and saw its ghastly mistake. The consequences were measures taken against Pilsudski and many of his staff by the German military authorities; the general was arrested and taken to Germany where he was jailed with about 28 of his subordinates.

The political life of the Polish proletariat in Russian Poland has increased considerably since the Russian Revolution. The German government tries everything—within certain limits—to satisfy the population and permits the organization work to go on. During 1917 many thousands of workers have been added to the industrial organizations and a great impetus has also been given to political activity. Street demonstrations take place almost every week, especially in Warsaw, Lodz and many other industrial cities and three Socialist papers are now being published.

The *Labor Federation* created in Warsaw in January, 1916, now comprises workers in eleven trades and numbers about 19,000 members. It has freedom of action but is under strict orders not to "get mixed up in politics."

Elections held during 1917 showed a strong Socialist sentiment. But the Socialists were not able even in the larger cities, to win a majority of the seats, because of the divisions in their ranks. Often as many as seven different Socialist groups take part in an election with independent tickets.

Since the Central Powers recently granted some kind of "Independence" to Russian Poland with a government under the absolute control of the Polish reactionaries, the political struggle against the Polish class state will undoubtedly set in with vigor. And there is no doubt that a certain unity in the Socialist ranks will be perfected as soon as the national question is out of the way. The Polish Socialist movement will then make headway and become one of the most powerful political movements of the Polish proletariat.

PORTUGAL

Republic; Congress of two houses, both chosen by direct vote of all men able to read and write; limited minority representation; President chosen by Congress.

Portugal has long been one of the most unprogressive coun-

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tries in Europe, with corrupt and arbitrary government, miserable poverty and ignorance (83% illiterate in 1909), no religious liberty, and little industrial enterprise.

A Socialist party was formed in 1876, under the influence of Lafargue and other Spanish Internationalists. For forty years it barely maintained an existence, enduring violent persecution and struggling with Anarchist tendencies fostered by backward economic and political conditions. Since the overthrow of the monarchy in October, 1910, the separation of church and state in 1911, and the resultant economic and intellectual awakening, it has made better progress. There is one Socialist in Congress, Manoel Jose da Silva, a printer, from Oporto. The party had about 1,000 members in the Fall of 1910, but grew to 3,300 by the summer of 1913. In that year it won many seats in city councils.

Labor organization is confined to a few localities and has been under Anarchist leadership. Of late, however, the unions are beginning to grow and to show socialistic tendencies. Their first general congress was held in 1914.

The rise of food prices and disturbances of trade resulting from the war has provoked numerous strikes and hunger riots in Lisbon and elsewhere, which have been suppressed by military force.

The Socialist Party has increased its membership and influence on account of its strong anti-war position. During the first year of the war it suffered considerably from government persecution. When the war-burden made itself felt, the sentiment changed and the republican government dared no longer prosecute Socialist anti-war speakers. The party, which indorsed Zimmerwald, refused to send delegates to the Stockholm Conference called by the International Socialist Bureau. Its one representative to the second Stockholm gathering was refused passports by the Portuguese Government.

The Secretary of the Socialist Party is Caesar Nogueira, Rue do Bemformoso 150, Lisbon.

The Secretary of the Labor Federation is Francisco dos Santos, Rue do Laranjal 83, Porto.

ROUMANIA

Constitutional monarchy; two Houses of Parliament: Senate and Chamber of Deputies; Senate, 120 members elected for eight years; Chamber of Deputies, 178 members elected for four years. Franchise is a three-class indirect system, reactionary and plutocratic.

In the 90's there was organized in Roumania a Socialist Party whose leaders were exclusively students, lawyers, doctors and other professionals and who had been educated in the universities of Western Europe. These ambitious gentlemen, whose Socialistic views were at best cloudy and confused, suddenly in 1899 left the Socialist movement, which did not progress fast enough to fulfill their expectations, and joined the Liberal Party.

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It is due to the splendid work of Dr. C. Rakowsky that there is in Roumania to-day a proletarian Socialist movement. He and C. Dobrogeanu-Gherea, a famous writer and economist, took the movement in hand and succeeded in reorganizing and building up the remnants of the first unfortunate venture. They founded Socialist clubs all over the country, published the first Socialist newspaper, *Romania Muncitoare*, in Bucharest, and arranged for a national convention, which resulted in a loose organization of the existing Socialist forces. The new movement, even before it became a political party, went through a severe crisis. The farmers' revolt of 1907 was followed by a period of governmental persecution. All clubs were dissolved, their money confiscated and about a thousand Jewish Socialists — four-fifths of the 289,000 Roumanian Jews are proletarians — were banished from the country as foreigners. Particular efforts were made to banish Rakowsky, who was also denounced as a foreigner. Several years passed before he was permitted to prove, in court, that he was a citizen of Roumania. A still more critical period came for the party in 1913, when the Balkan War whipped high the waves of nationalist feeling. Two influential Socialists, the lawyers Cacea and Dragu, endorsed the expansion policy of the government, although the party itself protested emphatically against it. The former were expelled from the party together with a number of extreme opportunists. Then began a genuine Socialist movement in Roumania.

The *Social-Democratic Party* had agitated from the beginning of the European War unceasingly against participation and for peace. Its propaganda was so influential and impressed the masses to such a degree that it was an important factor for the preservation of Roumanian neutrality during the first sixteen months. When the bourgeoisie finally forced the country into war, the party movement suffered greatly. The leaders — and as one of the first the undaunted and faithful Dr. Rakowsky — were arrested and kept incommunicado. Rakowsky and some of his friends were later, when the Germans overran Roumania, taken to Russia and imprisoned there, until the victorious Revolution liberated him and gave him a seat in the Workers' and Soldiers' Council of Petrograd. About forty Socialists, who are still missing, are probably in prison.

The party, which was not well organized before the outbreak of the war, is now completely demoralized. Very few organizations are still intact and only one Socialist weekly is able to run the gauntlet of the censorship successfully. Since three-fourths of the country is under German military rule, very little can be done in the way of protests and mass-meetings. In 1917 two big meetings were held in Bucharest, one to protest against the high cost of living which condemns the workers to starvation and the other to demand peace. The permission for the last one was

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readily given, but the submission of the text of the resolutions was demanded. When this request had been met, the meeting was permitted to take place but the adoption and reading of any resolution was prohibited. More than ten thousand people attended and made it the most impressive demonstration ever held in Bucharest.

The Socialist vote in 1910 was 1,557 and in 1914 2,047. The fourth convention reported a membership of 2,980 mostly in Bucharest and in a few industrial centers. Several women's organizations were in existence before the war.

The *Federation of Trade Unions* which works in fullest harmony with the Socialist movement counted 16,700 members in October, 1915; since then it has lost about 3,000 members, but gained lately so that, according to the latest reports, the Federation of Trade Unions numbers again about 16,000 members. The unions are pretty free to do as they please, but must refrain from any agitation against the German military authorities.

Since the Roumanian Labor movement indorsed Zimmerwald, no delegates were sent to Stockholm. Yet Rakowsky was designated to represent the party at the Zimmerwald Stockholm conference as well as at the Stockholm meeting called by the Russian Council in case it should take place.

The Secretary of the Party is J. C. Frimu, Roumanian Social-Democratic Party, Strada Piatza Amzei, 261 Bucharest.

The Secretary of the Labor Federation is D. Pop, Piata Amzei 26, Bucharest.

RUSSIA

No event since the beginning of the international Socialist movement has been of greater moment to the cause of working-class emancipation throughout the world than the revolution which in March, 1917, destroyed Czarism in Russia and set up in its place a new democratic order. The result has been to alter entirely the state of affairs described in the first issue of this Year Book. Russia now enjoys a greater measure of freedom than any other country of the world; and, though the new government is both provisional and precarious, events are shaping for the establishment of a republic with a constitution which will show the influence of Socialist teaching to an extent which would have seemed incredible a year ago.

The Socialists of Russia have stamped the revolution with the impress of their ideas and have, since the abdication of the Czar, maintained a strongly advantageous position in the molding of government policies through the Councils of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies—organizations of a definitely proletarian character which made their first appearance during the revolutionary days of 1905.

The war provided the opportunity for the successful revolution of 1917. The Socialist demand for peace was as important a

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factor as any other; and since the overthrow of the old régime, it has been Russia which has most determinedly sought to bring the world back to peace and to end the war on terms which would be the negation of capitalist interests aiming at annexations and indemnities.

There were, of course, other tendencies working for the overthrow of Czarism. The new capitalist interests were feeling with increasing acuteness the fetters which a corrupt and inefficient bureaucracy imposed upon them. The new industrial forces were jealous of German commercial influences; and to a certain extent the fear that the Czar and his court would make a separate peace with Germany and once more give German enterprise an opportunity to exploit Russia weighed with the bourgeoisie in its efforts to secure a genuinely constitutional government. But the bourgeoisie, represented by the various liberal and progressive groups, was not prepared to go to the length of revolution. Its aim was to establish some kind of parliamentary government and make the Czar a constitutional monarch like the King of England. But half-hearted aims like these were futile, and it was left for the industrial proletariat of the cities, the peasants with their communistic traditions, and the soldiers of the armies, recruited from among these workmen and peasants, to supply the force which would finally destroy the régime which made Russian government an abomination in the sight of men.

The part played by the soldiers was no less important. The armies after two and a half years of war were no longer the same as in August, 1914. Their officers were no longer the aristocrats who lived gay lives; the men were no longer well-drilled, obedient regulars. The army was now an army of workmen and peasants in uniform, imbued with the revolutionary spirit, and when it withdrew its allegiance and support from the old order, the success of the revolution was assured.

The full story of the March days cannot be told here. The revolution began with a series of strikes and the people of Petrograd swarming in the streets crying for bread and peace. The police, to the last faithful to the old order, strove to suppress these demonstrations. But the Petrograd garrisons rallying to the side of the people soon wiped the police out of existence. Meanwhile, the Duma, a stronghold of the new industrial bourgeoisie, became thoroughly frightened and through its president, Rodzianko, pathetically pleaded with the Czar for reform before it would be too late. But the Czar's answer was to issue decrees dissolving both the Council of the Empire and the Duma. And these bodies would have, no doubt, permitted themselves to be thus disposed of but for the power of the revolutionaries, now backed by the soldiers. The Duma was thus forced, in spite of itself, to take the heroic step of ignoring the Czar's decree and to remain in session, and further, through two emissaries, Gutch-

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koff and Shulgin, to tell the Czar he must abdicate. The Czar consented, and named his brother Michael as his successor. The Duma was ready to accept this as the happy ending of the old order; but again the revolutionary elements intervened with demands for a democratic republic, and Michael, well aware that Russia had had enough of Czarism, saved his face by refusing the proffered crown until and if the Constituent Assembly decided in favor of a monarchy.

The decisive step which marked the end of the old and the beginning of the new order was taken on March 15, when the Executive Committee of the Duma and the Provisional Council of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies appointed the first Provisional Government, which, with the exception of Alexander F. Kerensky, the new Minister of Justice, was almost entirely bourgeois in character, including such representatives of great capitalistic interests and imperialist tendencies as Prince George Lvov, Premier, Prof. Paul N. Milyukov, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Alexander Gutchkov, Minister of War.

It was now expected that Russia would settle down as a bourgeois democracy and more vigorously help the Allies to win the war. But the Socialist and revolutionary elements had not made so many sacrifices for more than a generation nor risked their lives in a new uprising merely to see Russia pursuing the same course as that of the British, French, or United States governments. This was made clear in the manifesto issued by the Workers' Council on March 27, to the peoples of the world, in which the war was described as an outgrowth of the imperialistic rivalries of the governing classes of the belligerent countries and in which the workers all over the world were called upon to join the Russian workers to bring the fratricidal struggle to an early end.

While the new struggle between the bourgeoisie and the revolutionary forces was primarily on the question of war and peace, the issue was joined all along the line; and in the transformed class struggle, new party groupings have arisen. As the most liberal element among the bourgeois politicians, the Constitutionals-Democrats ("Cadets"), led by Milyukov, became the chief expression of capitalism and imperialism. On the other side, there were and still are the Socialist forces organized in the Social-Democratic Labor Party and the Party of Socialist Revolutionists.

In the matter of preserving the achievements of the March Revolution the two Socialist parties act in common. In the Councils of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies, which represent the revolutionary democracy of Russia, the Socialists act jointly on matters of general character arising out of the new order.

The war and the revolution find each party divided into three

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groups each. The Social Democrats who before the war were divided into two factions—the Mensheviks and Bolsheviks—have in addition a distinct pro-war group. This group is very insignificant, though it counts among its members the pioneers of the Russian Socialist movement,—Plechanov, Deutch, Sasulitch, and others. The *Mensheviks*-Internationalists faction, under the leadership of such theoreticians as Axelrod, Martov, Dan, and Martinov, and parliamentarians as Tchcheidze, Skobelev and Tzereteli, exercises the greatest influence among the industrial proletariat with the exception of a few centers, particularly Petrograd, where the Bolsheviks are more popular. The *Bolsheviks*, whose illustrious leader is Nicholas Lenine, now, as before the revolution, represent the radical Socialist position on the various national and international questions.

The Socialists-Revolutionists, who, up till the Revolution worked harmoniously together, though various groupings were noticed among them since the outbreak of the war, have now split into three factions, dividing roughly about the same as the Social Democrats. There are now the pro-war and nationalist wing, led by Catherine Breshkovsky, the moderate and internationalist wing, led by Victor Tchernov, former Minister of Agriculture, and the radical wing, led by Marie Spiridonova, who assassinated the Vice-Governor of Tambov, and since the Revolution returned from Siberia.

Beside the two main Socialist parties there is also a Populist Socialist Party led by Peshechonov, former Minister of Supplies. The so-called Maximilist group is more communistic-anarchistic than Socialist and is insignificant in numbers or influence.

The only test of popular opinion since the revolution has been the municipal elections in the cities; and the results show that the Socialist parties obtained an overwhelming victory all over the country, while the Constitutionalists-Democrats secured a comparatively small vote. There is no doubt that Russia is under the sway of Socialism, but it must not be imagined that this Socialism is one definite set of principles. It is, indeed, as variegated as the condition of the Russian people itself. But it is equally evident that the people refuse to entrust its destinies to the bourgeoisie. The most striking evidence of this is that since March the most powerful organ of national policy has been the *Soviet*, the Council of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies.

Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to underrate the power of the bourgeoisie. It is not overthrown, but is fighting desperately to secure control of the government, to obtain for itself the fruits of the revolution as the French bourgeoisie did after 1789. And in its efforts it is favored by the absence of a clear-cut struggle between bourgeoisie and proletariat since the international situation complicated matters a great deal.

The first serious clash between the imperialists and the So-

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cialist elements arose out of Milyukov's note to the Allies of May 1, in which he pledged the Provisional Government to the old war program of imperialistic aggrandizement. This was an act of defiance and provoked such a storm of protest that Milyukov was forced to resign. The Cabinet was reconstructed with Kerensky as Minister of War in place of Gutchkov, who also had resigned because he found himself unable to use the army as a weapon for a peace based on victory and conquest. Several Socialists now entered the Cabinet and the call for an International Socialist Conference, which had been sent out by the *Soviet*, was acquiesced in by the new Provisional Government. This act showed once more in the clearest possible manner that one of the aims of the revolution was to restore peace by negotiation and without forcible annexations or punitive indemnities; that the Socialists of Russia were and are inspired by a deep and genuine internationalism.

Another reconstruction of the Cabinet, following the resignation of Premier Lvov in July, placed Kerensky at the head of the Provisional Government with fuller authority than had been possessed by his predecessor. Ostensibly the reason of the change was the failure of the Russian offensive which Kerensky had been prevailed upon to order at the beginning of July and which left the country in a perilous position. But the true significance of this, as of other changes in the state of flux which characterized the political life of newly emancipated Russia, was its relation to the divergent policies of imperialist and Socialist. The fall of Lvov, as of Milyukov and Gutchkov before him, meant that the revolutionary forces were strong enough to prevent a policy, which was the cause of the revolution, from being imposed upon Free Russia.

The bourgeois liberals, driven from power, plotted against the Socialists and tried to arouse the people to repudiate the revolutionists. But the municipal elections showed that the people wanted the Socialists to control the Government. Yet, Kerensky, pursuing the line of argument that while the nation was at war it was in danger from internal dissension, tried to conciliate the liberals and secure their support, despite the unmistakable verdict of the people against the rule of the Milyukovs, Gutchkovs and Lvovs. Kerensky made a further mistake in encouraging a great conference of the bourgeois elements at Moscow, for it gave them recognition and the opportunity to organize a counter-revolution, which they did. General Kornilov was chosen to play the part of the new Napoleon, but his attempt was a dismal fiasco because the organs of the revolutionary democracy had by that time permeated the working class, the peasantry and the army.

At this writing the situation in Russia is by no means clear. But one thing cannot be doubted — that the Socialists have gained greater political power than anyone ever deemed possible at

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such an early period. Having the power, it is now their task to establish a democratic republic. The work this involves cannot be estimated; but there is one feature of the revolution of 1917 which is of incalculable value—its tremendous stimulus and inspiration to the cause of working class emancipation throughout the world. The stirring March days have given Socialists a new example, a new hope and new strength.

SERBIA

Constitutional monarchy; legislative authority vested in King with National Assembly (Skuptchina) which consists of 166 Deputies; restricted manhood suffrage.

The labor movement in Serbia is weak because the country is industrially in an undeveloped condition, and especially because efforts toward organizing the agrarian proletariat have failed. Nevertheless, the Serbian Social Democracy, like all other Social-Democracies in the Balkan States, has persisted, before and after the outbreak of the war, in its anti-militaristic attitude and has refused to swerve a hair's breadth from the principles of the International.

The *Social-Democratic Labor Party* of Serbia took an active part in national elections for the first time in 1904, when it polled 2,508 votes. In 1907 this increased to 3,133, in 1910 to 9,000, in 1912 to 25,000 and in 1914 to 30,000. In 1912 Lapschevitch and Kazlerovitch were elected to the Skuptchina and both voted against the war budget and against all the war demands of the government.

Since the occupation of Serbia by the German military forces the party has had little chance to do any real agitation work. It is true that the regular party routine goes on and that the military governor permits the executive committee to hold and arrange public meetings as long as these do not deal with the war or any question connected with the war. But the economic conditions of the Serbian people are such that it is almost impossible to get the workers to attend political meetings. One of the party papers is still being published in Belgrade with little interference from the military censor.

The *Labor Union* movement plays an important part. It has not only held its membership together—on July 1, 1914, there were 14,300 members, and on January 1, 1917, there were still 11,700 members—but it has done a great deal to keep up the wages in the more thoroughly organized trades. In fact, wages in those industries have gone up considerably since the German invasion. The labor movement of Serbia is class-conscious and socialistic and in complete harmony with the Social Democratic Labor Party. It has three trade papers at its disposal which are hated by the German military authorities, but not suppressed on

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account of their great influence. They constitute almost the only opposition force in Serbia to-day.

The Serbian Labor movement—political as well as industrial—indorsed the Zimmerwald Conference and consequently refused to send delegates to Stockholm.

When the Socialist Party and the General Federation (the central organization of the trade unions) selected one delegate each for the Zimmerwald Conference to be held immediately after the second Stockholm Conference—summoned by the Russian Workers' and Soldiers' Council—the German authorities at first refused passports, but finally granted them.

The Secretary of the S. D. L. P. is D. Papovitch, Belgrade.

The Secretary of the Labor Federation is P. Pawlowitsch, Radnicke Novine, Belgrade.

SPAIN

Constitutional monarchy. Parliament (Cortes) of two houses—Congress of Deputies, chosen by popular vote, and Senate, part hereditary, part ex-officio, part appointed, part indirectly elected.

Compared with France or Italy, Spain is a backward country. Less than half the people over the age of ten can read. Industry is but little developed. The liberties guaranteed in the constitution are largely illusory, the government being able to control elections to a great extent. Of late there has been progress, a feature of which is the movement for popular self-education launched by the freethinker Francisco Ferrer, who was executed under martial law in 1909.

The working-class movement is practically confined to Madrid, the mining and metal-working region of the north coast, and the commercial and industrial region around Barcelona, where it is complicated with Catalanian nationalism.

Sections of the International were formed in Spain in 1868, but soon fell under the influence of Bakunist Anarchism. Paul Lafargue, Francisco Mora, and a few others upheld the Marxian idea, and in 1879 formed the *Socialist Labor Party*. Among its founders was a young printer, Pablo Iglesias, who is still its foremost leader.

The party first nominated candidates in 1891, polling 5,000 votes. Its strength grew to 14,000 in 1896, to 26,000 in 1904, and fell to 23,000 in 1907. In 1910 for the first time it formed a coalition with the Republicans. Iglesias was elected in Madrid, with 40,000 votes, more than half of them Socialist. In 1916 he was re-elected. The party has representatives in more than forty municipal councils.

In 1913 the party had about 12,000 members, and in the fall of 1915 it had 14,332. *El Socialista*, published in Madrid, is the central organ, and there are several other weekly papers.

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At the beginning of the war the party took a clear stand in favor of neutrality, and its papers were prosecuted for printing articles against war, militarism, and imperialism. But this period did not last long. For the last two years Iglesias has advocated participation on the side of the Allies, but the conservative government stuck to neutrality. The party elected delegates to the Allied Socialist conferences, but not to Stockholm. The membership does not follow the leaders in their war sympathies. A new Socialist paper, *Vanguardia*, edited by the former editor of *El Socialista*, is being published in Madrid and enjoys a greater circulation than the official organ of the party which favors war.

Living conditions in Spain are very bad, the prices of food high and hunger and want is general among the working class. The prevailing unrest forced the government to declare a state of war in the industrial centres and to put the big cities under military rule. Many strikes were called in protest against those measures and at least 800 men and women were arrested and jailed. In certain cities like Bilbao, Seville and Madrid the military still rules. The republican movement is growing immensely, but the Socialist Party suffers from the internal differences caused by the war. The trade unions are absolutely opposed to war, and in some parts of Spain are supporting the government against the war-enthusiasts.

In 1889 was founded the General Union of Workingmen (Union General de Trabajadores) a federation of trade unions in sympathy with Socialism. Starting with 3,000 members, it grew to 26,000 in 1900, to 42,000 in 1910, and in 1915 it had 398 local unions with 112,194 members, among them 8,000 women. Vincente Barrio is its Secretary, and its organ is *La Union Obrero*. There are also some Anarchist-Syndicalist unions outside the federation.

In January, 1917, the twelfth congress of the General Labor Association (the federation of the Socialist trade unions) was held in Madrid. Unemployment insurance and governmental regulation of food prices were demanded. The question of workingmen's compensation legislation was discussed and a motion carried to instruct the Socialist deputy to introduce such a bill in the Cortes. Iglesias made a speech and emphasized the necessity of upholding Socialist principles during war. A resolution in favor of participation in the war was tabled after extended discussion. Iglesias and two delegates spoke for the resolution, but nine hundred declared themselves against it.

The Secretary of the Socialist Party is Daniel Anguiano, Calle della Fuentes, Madrid.

The Secretary of the Labor Federation is Vincente Barrio, Calle de Piamonte 2, Madrid.

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SWEDEN

Constitutional monarchy; King has only executive power exercised under advice of a Council of State. The Parliament has two Chambers; the Upper House elected by the municipal councils, the second by universal suffrage over 25 years of age with proportional system.

The Swedish *Social Democratic Labor Party* is one of the parties whose unity has been destroyed by the war. The party, which was founded in 1889, had become the strongest and best organized in Sweden. The election of 1914 resulted in the election of 87 representatives against 86 Conservatives and 45 Liberals in the lower House; in the Senate the party holds 14 seats. The first Socialist to enter the Swedish Parliament was H. Branting, who was elected in 1890 and is still to-day its most powerful leader. The election returns since 1902 are as follows:

	<i>Votes</i>	<i>Representatives</i>		<i>Votes</i>	<i>Representatives</i>
1902...	8,751	4	1911..	172,000	64
1905...	26,083	17	1914..	230,000	73
1908...	54,004	33	1914..	265,000	87

The first election held in 1914 was a special election, which did not interfere with the regular triennial election.

The following shows the growth of party membership:

1889	8,000	1909	112,693
1900	45,000	1910	60,813
1905	64,835	1913	75,444
1907	101,929	1914	84,410
1908	133,388	1915	90,000

In the city councils there are 426, on the town boards, schools, and taxation boards 4,795 Social Democrats. The election to the Landsting (Provincial Parliament), held on March 25, 1915, also resulted in substantial gains everywhere; 126 deputies, a direct gain of 45 deputies.

The victory at the 1914 election, which made the Socialists the strongest party in Parliament, raised the question of ministerial participation. A Congress was held in November, 1914, in Stockholm, to discuss the matter, and it was decided to form a Coalition Ministry with non-socialist parties, after the war. This decision aroused violent opposition on the part of the Young Socialists, but was carried by a majority of 90 against 58 votes. A motion to demand gradual reduction of armaments in Parliament was lost, with 70 against 61 votes. At this Congress the member of Parliament, Steffen, was expelled from the party because he favored intervention in the war on the side of Germany.

The tenth national convention of the Swedish Social Democratic

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Labor Party took place on February 22, 1917, at Stockholm; 220 delegates were present. The convention went on record in favor of the Stockholm Conferences, for a strict prohibition of the manufacture and sale of all alcoholic drinks, and repeated the decisions of the previous convention in regard to the Young Socialists. It demanded the annulment of the motion carried at the Young Socialists' Conference held in 1916, to demand from the parliamentary group a stricter adherence to Socialist principles and maintained that only in such case could there be any cooperation with the radical faction. It also stated in a motion carried by 136 against 2 votes, with two delegates abstaining from voting, that there must be no separate candidates of the Young Socialists if a split was to be avoided. Finally, it made the adoption of the unity resolution of the previous party convention by the Conference of the Young People's organization the unalterable condition of further party unity. At a conference of the radical wing, held on May 12-14, 1917, at Stockholm these conditions were not accepted, but unanimously rejected. The split became unavoidable and the new party was finally formed. Fifteen members of the parliamentary group joined immediately, among them Lindhagen, the mayor of Stockholm, and Wennenström, the most influential leader of the Young Socialists. Probably the split could have been avoided—at least for the present—if the majority of the S. D. L. P. had conceded the request for a general revision of the party program. The previous convention had appointed a committee to study the question of revising the program, but its report to the 1917 convention was unfavorable. Branting, Sandler and Möller recommended partial revision and pleaded for the postponement of a general change until after the war. Lindhagen and Wennenström, the minority of the committee, insisted upon immediate revision and maintained that now was the time to pave the way for a general peace based on Socialist tendencies and policies. If the Socialist movement would not lead the way now, it could never lead. The Branting report was adopted by an overwhelming majority.

The report of the Executive Committee showed a decrease in the membership mainly owing to the secession of the radical element which now forms the Swedish Socialist Party, and which has adopted a program on the lines of the Zimmerwald and Kienthal conferences. This program repudiates the duty of defending the fatherland, declares against all wars, for disarmament, for the general strike and industrial form of economic organization, for an energetic propaganda in favor of the republican form of government, the unification of the three Scandinavian countries and a new Socialist International from which are to be excluded all parties which stood for the suspension of the class struggle and the support of their governments during the war.

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The Parliamentary election which took place in September, 1917, showed a Socialist gain of eleven seats. The regular Socialist Party has secured 86 seats, while the Young Socialists elected 12 of their candidates. The Socialists represent the largest political group in the Parliament. The Liberals have 86 seats, the Conservatives 58 and the Peasants 12.

The Social Democratic Party of Sweden has 20 organs with a circulation of 160,000. The Young People's Federation with a membership of 12,000 in 400 branches has its own monthly organ *Fram*, and a weekly *Stormkloken*, which are mainly responsible for the radical spirit of the Young Socialist movement. The 2,000 organized Socialist women support a woman paper, *Morgonbris*. The number of "People's Houses" and "People's Parks" have grown considerably and are valued at six million crowns.

The labor union movement in Sweden, as in all Scandinavian countries, works in closest harmony with the Socialist Party. In 1913 the General Federation had 93,600 members; now it numbers 150,000. In 1908 the General Federation already had 186,226 members. The general strike of 1908 led to a decrease, the membership falling to 60,000. From this blow there has been only a slow and partial recovery. There are also 36,000 workmen organized outside of the Federation, a large proportion of them belonging to syndicalist organizations.

The trade union movement has recovered much of the ground lost during the last two years. It now numbers more than 95,000 members and is both materially and morally stronger than ever. It was instrumental in forcing the government to fix maximum prices for certain foodstuffs and in securing the promise to prevent the lowering of wages during this war. On the other hand, through militant and aggressive action it forced the passage of much useful social legislation.

The Secretary of the Party is Gustav Moller, Folkesthus, Barnhusgatan 14, Stockholm.

The Secretary of the Labor Federation is H. Lindqvist, Barnhusgatan 16, Stockholm.

SWITZERLAND

Federal republic, composed of twenty-two cantons. Legislative power vested in Federal Assembly of two houses—National Council and Council of the States, roughly corresponding to House and Senate in the United States. Executive power in Federal Council, seven members, chosen by Federal Assembly in joint session. Initiative and referendum largely used in both federal and cantonal affairs. Proportional representation in some cantons.

German is the prevailing and official language in sixteen cantons, French in five, and Italian in one.

Swiss social-political history has some peculiar features. One is the early establishment of republican institutions—in the small mountain cantons a primary democracy; in the larger and richer ones an urban oligarchy of merchant and landlord families.

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The mass of the people were till recently peasant-proprietors. Certain hand trades (such as watch making) have long been extensively practised in some cantons. In others there is a vast number of hotel and restaurant workers, catering to tourists and health-seekers. None of these furnish a sound basis for a labor movement. Only within the last thirty years, with electric transmission of power derived from waterfalls has industry on a large scale and a modern proletariat begun to develop rapidly in certain districts. Finally, Switzerland has a great number of immigrant wage-workers (German, French, and Italian) who are not citizens.

The oldest political working-class organization is the Grütli Union, founded in 1838, composed chiefly of artisans and hand-workers. At first merely democratic-radical, in 1878 it accepted Socialism in principle and in 1901 it joined (though keeping its autonomy) the *Social Democratic Party*, which had been formed under Marxian influence.

The party has not neglected to use the initiative and referendum, but its successes have been mostly negative. Thus in 1903 it overturned a press-muzzling law and in 1906 a reactionary election law; but its positive proposals for social and labor legislation have in most cases been defeated by the votes of peasants, shopkeepers, and hotel workers.

In 1902 the party polled 55,000 votes and elected seven members to the National Council. Its vote rose to 70,000 in 1905 and to 120,000 in 1911, when it won fifteen seats. In the fall of 1914 its vote was still further increased, and eighteen of its candidates were successful. (The National Council has about 200 members.) The party has also one representative in the Council of the States. In 1912 there were 212 Socialists among the 2,907 members of cantonal councils; since then, and even during the war, many more seats have been gained in Zürich, Berne, and elsewhere. In Berne the vote rose from 5,450 in 1913 to nearly 7,000 in 1916.

In 1912 the party had about 23,000 members, and in the summer of 1914 it had 33,238. By the fall of 1915 the number had fallen to 29,585, chiefly as a result of unemployment. Two party papers have had to suspend since the war began, but about fifteen remain. There is a Socialist Women's Federation and a Socialist Young People's Society, the latter with over 2,000 members.

The regular party convention held in Zürich November, 1916, showed a further decrease in membership; only 27,485 remained in the organization. This decrease was mainly due to the secession of the Grütli Union, which, by instruction of the previous convention, had either to disband or to join the party. The dual character of the Swiss party was not to be tolerated any longer. Most of the Grütli Union seceded and preferred to remain independent, but many members joined the Party. The Grütli organ-

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izations generally uphold an opportunistic and somewhat nationalistic policy, while the party itself stands for Zimmerwald and internationalism of the strictest type. The Women's organizations increased their membership to about 2,300, while the Young People's organizations grew from 1,700 to 5,000 members.

On June 9 and 10, 1917, an extraordinary convention was held in Berne to define the attitude of the Party on the military question. This question had been referred to this convention from the one held in Zürich in November, 1916, and had had three sets of resolutions before it. The majority resolution which was adopted by 222 against 77 votes, pledges the Party to the most energetic anti-militaristic stand and denies the duty of the so-called defense of the fatherland. It reads in part:

"To conduct the fundamental struggle against militarism, chauvinism, and nationalism, as well as against the influence of the bourgeois classes upon the children and young people of the working class, with increased intensity by means of:

"(a) Systematic education of the working class concerning the significance and purpose of militarism;

"(b) Fundamental opposition by the party and its elected representatives to all demands, budgets and laws which serve the purpose of upholding and strengthening militarism or which threaten to create international complications;

"(c) Organization of the emphatic and united resistance of the working class against intervention of the country in any war. The party shall determine the means that shall be employed to increase the intensity of the class struggle and opposition to war (demonstrations, strikes and refusal to render military service), in accordance with the strength of the labor movement and with the international situation;

"(d) Organized financial support of those comrades who refuse obedience when required as soldiers to act in opposition to the interests of the working class.

"This decision shall supersede all previous decisions of the party that may be in opposition to it."

Greetings were sent to the Russian Social-Democracy and the adherence to the principles of Zimmerwald reaffirmed. The convention instructed the National Executive Committee to send delegates to the Zimmerwald Conference only, but not to the conferences called by the International Socialist Bureau.

Elections held in 1917 showed surprising gains for the party. The Zürich, Berne, Basel and Solothurn cantonal elections largely increased the number of the elected Socialist representatives and doubled (and in one case trebled) the vote.

The *Federation of Trade Unions*, founded in 1882, had 5,300 members in 1888, 27,000 in 1903, 70,000 in 1912, and over 89,000 when the war broke out. It lost 30,000 within a few months, but has since regained many of them. It works in close harmony with the party. There were also in 1914 some 35,000 workers in non-affiliated unions, including 12,000 in the Catholic unions, which have little militant character, and 7,000 in the Anarchist-Syndicalist organizations of French Switzerland,

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where hand industry still largely prevails and where also there are many voteless workingmen.

The Secretary of the Socialist Party is M. Fähndrich, Birmensdorferstrasse 15, Zürich.

The Secretary of the Federation of Trade Unions is Oscar Schneeberger, Kapellenstrasse 6, Berne.

CHINA

A Republic. The Government is composed of a President, a Vice-President, a Senate of 264 members who serve for six years (one-third of the members retiring every two years) elected by the various Provincial Assemblies and Electoral Colleges and a House of Representatives of 596 members who serve for three years.

The present-day Socialist movement of China is hardly more than six years old. It finds its expression in the *Socialist Party* of China, which has lived and grown in spite of persecution. There is also a semi-Socialist Party, an organization about ten years older than the revolutionary Socialist movement, which under the leadership of Sun Yat Sen, has the character of a National Labor Party with strictly Chinese ideals, in marked contrast to the revolutionary, proletarian character of the Socialist Party.

In 1911 the first Socialist organization was founded, and the first Socialist newspaper, the *Socialist Star*, was established. In three months this movement, supported and fostered by the first Chinese Revolution, spread throughout the Chinese nation. A number of Socialists were elected to the Parliament of the newly established Chinese Republic. In a very short time 50 Socialist newspapers came into existence; Socialist free schools had sprung up; Socialist labor unions and women's auxiliaries grew and prospered, large quantities of Socialist literature were distributed, and Socialist theatrical propaganda companies toured the country. It is not surprising that the ruling class, and especially Yuan Shi Kai, the betrayer of the Revolution, should tremble before the remarkable development of the Socialist movement. In August, 1913, he published an edict dissolving the Socialist Party and ordering the arrest of its leaders, who were accordingly thrown into prison and executed. Only the English headquarters in Shanghai escaped destruction.

The leader of the Socialist movement was Kiang Kang Hu, a professor of the Peking University, and one of those who published a number of radical newspapers. His first Socialist speech, "Woman and the Socialist movement," delivered in June, 1911, in the Che Kiang was distributed widely as a leaflet and caused the first Socialist persecutions in China. It also led to the founding of the first Socialist club in Shanghai, which was organized as a study club. Meanwhile the first Revolution in the South of China, in Hankow, had begun. On November 3, 1911, Shanghai fell into the hands of the Revolutionists. The

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club now changed its name to the Socialist Party of China and immediately sent organizers into the Southern Provinces. The *Socialist Star* became a daily and gained a huge circulation. The membership of the Shi Hui Tong (Socialist Party) increased rapidly.

On November 5, the first convention of the party was held in Shanghai, where a platform was adopted which was a mixture of immediate demands and ultimate aims.

The thirty Socialists who were elected to the first republican parliament introduced bills demanding equal, direct and secret suffrage, public schools, the abolition of personal taxes, inheritance tax, abolition of capital punishment, reduction of the standing army, abolition of girl-slavery. Not one of these bills was voted on because the forcible dissolution of Parliament by Yuan Shi Kai put an end to all proceedings. "The party had by this time," says Kiang Kang Hu, "over four hundred branches in China, each with its official teachers and readers—for a great part of the membership could not read. Agitators and organizers, most of them working without pay, were sent out broadcast. The party owned its own printing plant, and published three official papers, the *Daily Socialist Star*, the *Weekly Socialist Bulletin*, and the *Monthly Official Bulletin*. Among the pamphlets and leaflets which were printed at this plant and sent out in great quantities, one of the most popular was 'The Communist Manifesto.' In addition, many branches printed their own local papers, and at one time there were over 50 of these in existence. Then, too, there were between 10 and 15 privately owned papers which supported the Socialist Party. The most important of the free public schools established by the party was situated at Nanking. This school had an attendance of over eight hundred. Free public kindergartens were also established by the party. A very curious part of the party organization was the Socialist Opera and Orchestra Company. The woman's organization had for its main work the furthering of the agitation for woman suffrage. The organization had at one time about one thousand members, and in addition many women belonged directly to the party itself. Schools for women were started by the party, and had a large attendance."

Side by side with the Socialist movement, there had also grown up an anarchist movement, which became most troublesome to the party organization, since a large number of the anarchists had joined the Socialist ranks and endeavored to propagate their ideas among its numbers. At the second annual convention of the party the conflict of ideas led to the founding of a "Pure Socialist Party" by the anarchistic element. The inevitable confusion of the Socialists with the Anarchists in the minds of the ignorant masses became a tremendous hindrance to the movement.

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Opposition against the Socialist Party grew among the bourgeois democrats, who feared its influence even more than the increasing absolutism of Yuan Shi Kai. The Republicans realized too late that they were playing into the hands of a betrayer, who gradually crowded them out of every important position and who played his last card in the destruction of the Young China Association. The second Revolution in July, 1913, came too late. It was drowned in blood. Parliament was dissolved and a new election ordered. The aforementioned edict against the Socialist Party had its effect. Hundreds of Socialists and Republicans were executed, and the party as such completely destroyed. But in spite of all persecution, hundreds of intelligent Socialists carried on their secret agitation. They were a most important factor in the overthrow of Yuan Shi Kai's imperialistic government and the establishment of a new constitutional and republican régime under Li Yuan Hung.

The growing class of Chinese business men—the new bourgeoisie of China—seized the opportunity when the United States broke off diplomatic relations with Germany to drag China into the maelstrom of world war. Following President Wilson's appeal to neutral nations to protest against the German submarine campaign and also sever relations with Germany, Wu Ting Fang, the Chinese Foreign Minister, took steps to range China on the side of the Allies. On March 11, on the advice of the Premier, Tuan Chi Jui, the Chinese Senate voted by 158 against 37 and the House by 331 against 87 in favor of breaking with Germany. The minority included Socialists and radicals led by Sun Yat Sen. On March 14 relations were formally broken off. But before the next step—the declaration of war—could be taken, China had to go through another phase of internal strife between imperialists and democrats, with the Socialist propagandists playing an influential part on the anti-war side.

After the diplomatic break there were three capital factors in the situation. Dominance in a military sense was held by the Premier and War Minister, Tuan Chi Jui, who was leader of the conservative party of generals and also officials generally known, though not quite accurately, as the Northern Party, and in the political sense by the liberals, led by the President, Li Yuan Hung, supported by a Cabinet representing the liberal as distinct from the radical forces of the Republican movement. The third main factor was the radical and Socialist element which had played so important a part in the revolution in 1911, and which controlled the Senate while holding the balance of power, with the aid of the so-called Independents, in the House of Representatives. Tuan Chi Jui and the Northern Party were loud in their demands for war against Germany. In April a conference was held in Peking, of the chief northern generals for the undoubted purpose of setting up an autocratic régime under

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cover of a state of war. The generals succeeded in overawing the Cabinet, which on May 2 announced itself ready to accede to the demand for intervention. But when Tuan Chi Jui appeared before Parliament, the Southern revolutionaries and other anti-imperialist groups, including the Socialists and radicals, refused to indorse the Premier's intervention proposal. Tuan Chi Jui then proceeded to institute arbitrary measures, but his career was cut short on May 23 when he was dismissed from office by the President, Li Yuan Hung.

A desperate counter-revolutionary move was now made by Tuan Chi Jui and the reactionary generals. Early in June, Peking was isolated, the President made virtually a prisoner, and Hsu Shih Chang appointed dictator. The generals then issued a proclamation demanding China's immediate entrance into the war, dismissal of Parliament, abrogation of the new constitution, and the reinstatement of Tuan Chi Jui. Li Yuan Hung yielded to pressure and dissolved Parliament, whereupon the revolutionary leaders in the South refused to recognize his authority; but subsequently, by a compromise on June 24, the Southern leaders agreed to the dissolution of Parliament on the understanding that a new election for both houses should take place soon without military interference. Li Ching Hsi, who had succeeded Tuan Chi Jui as Prime Minister, was accepted by the Southerners, and the Cabinet was reorganized. A few days later—July 1—Chang Hsun, a Tartar general and adventurer, noted for his ignorance, blackguardism and braggadocio, backed by his personal army of about 30,000 men, suddenly appeared in Peking and restored the Manchu monarchy by placing the boy-emperor Hsuan Tung on the throne and assuming dictatorial powers. Immediately the people rose to defend the republic. Even the other reactionary generals joined the movement against Chang Hsun. The republican forces rapidly concentrated and an army, 50,000 strong, closed in on Peking. The young emperor abdicated, Chang Hsun's army was defeated, and the would-be dictator himself fled from Peking on July 14. Vice President Feng Kuo Chang became Provisional President; and the general situation reverted to where it was after the compromise of June 14. But the war party was the dominant element in the new government, and on August 14 China formally declared war against Germany and Austria-Hungary, Feng Kuo Chang signing the official proclamation.

There are but few labor unions in China, and such as there are, were founded by the Socialist Party. In China, handicraft is still at its zenith, and the workers are partially organized in local guilds. The members of these guilds, with handclasp and pass-word, find ready access to guilds in other towns. Strikes—and political strikes also—are quite common in China. The number of real, industrial or factory, laborers is still very small,

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but it is growing rapidly from year to year. Ore and coal mines, steel and iron foundries, as well as tobacco, paper, textile and shoe factories offer the most striking examples of factory labor and are owned and controlled chiefly by foreign capitalists. The coal and ore miners have a loosely organized union, which, after the first Revolution, joined the Socialist Party as a whole. It is noteworthy that the factory and machine workers were much more active in both Revolutions than the craftsmen, who, with comparatively few exceptions, remained neutral.

INDIA

India is the greatest of all the world's colonial possessions. It belongs to Great Britain, the King of England being Emperor of India. Under an elaborate system of government, directed partly by the Secretary of State for India, who is a member of the British Cabinet in London, and partly by the Viceroy, who represents the King-Emperor in India, this great and fertile land is in reality ruled in the most autocratic manner. Probably no country has been or still is more ruthlessly exploited by its rulers.

There is, strictly speaking, no Socialist movement in India, though Socialist ideas have inspired some of the intellectuals who have become a distinctive class in Indian life. There are, however, revolutionary movements, both political and economic.

The *Swadeshi* movement aims at establishing and fostering native industries and boycotting foreign products, foreign being made to include British. This movement originated in 1877. It received a new stimulus in 1905 when Curzon was Viceroy and caused intense dissatisfaction by his administration.

The revolutionary political movement aims at the complete independence of India and the setting up of an Indian Republic. The intellectuals initiated this movement, which has since spread to the masses and has even infected the army. Propaganda work is conducted secretly, and in order to get funds, the members raid government treasuries and rob wealthy Indian natives who are interested in the maintenance of British rule. It is difficult to give an exact estimate of the strength of the revolutionary movement, but it is strongest in Bengal.

The British authorities employ the usual methods of repression. During the last ten years hundreds of native revolutionaries have been hanged, thousands imprisoned, transported, deported without trial, and interned. Hundreds are in exile. The movement has many adherents in Europe, America, Africa and the Far East. Lately the movement for Home Rule has spread over the length and breadth of India and has brought into existence a wonderful unanimity among all classes, religions, sects and communities. The whole native press (Indo-English and vernacular) is behind it. The Indians own, conduct and maintain numerous papers printed in English and the vernacular. The press is controlled by a rigorous Press Act, which gives vast powers to the Executive. Since 1910 over 250 papers have

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ceased publication owing to proceedings under the Press Act. Many editors and writers are undergoing life or long term sentences in Andaman.

JAPAN

Constitutional Empire; the Emperor exercises the whole of the executive power through ministers appointed by and responsible to him. He also exercises the legislative power with the consent of the Imperial Diet, consisting of the House of Peers, (324 representatives of Nobility, 45 representatives of highest taxpayers) and the House of Representatives (379 members; restricted manhood suffrage).

Under Feudalism in Japan there were only four classes: Samurai (soldier), farmer, workman and merchant. Carpenters, plasterers, stone masons, blacksmiths, sawyers and miners all had strong guilds, the miners and sawyers retaining theirs till the present time. Just as under the feudal régime for more than three hundred years, the sawyers still regulate their wages and hours of labor. The miners' guild is a primitive type but very strong and quite communistic in its benefit and relief system. All the miners throughout the country belong to it.

The labor movement in the modern sense did not exist before the Chino-Japan war of 1894-95. The victory over China and the exaction of an indemnity gave a great impetus to the industries and a consequent increase of workers gave rise to labor troubles and strikes. Before this there had been Japanese who had studied the labor movements of Europe and America and who had tried to interest the workers of Japan in them, but without success. The real labor movement of Japan started in the summer of 1897. An organization was formed in Tokyo by various workmen, principally printers and iron-workers. This was followed a few months later by the formation of an iron workers' union in Tokyo, which soon had more than 1,000 members. The printers soon followed suit and formed their own union. In the winter of 1898 an engineers' and firemen's union, with more than 1,000 members, was organized on the Nippon railway. This was the first union formed as the result of a strike. Several thousand workers were involved in what was the first systematically conducted strike in Japan. The strikers obtained all their demands.

For a time, the government did not interfere with or attempt to suppress the labor movement. But in 1900 the Imperial Diet passed the so-called Police Law which at once became a powerful weapon to crush the movement. The police power of the state acted now under the authority of the Minister of the Interior and in a very short time killed one union after another until nothing was left of the movement. According to the law any agitation for higher wages and shorter hours is a crime, and the agitator is to be arrested forthwith. When trade-union propaganda became impossible, the leaders of the class-conscious workmen

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changed their tactics; they started a political and socialistic agitation and created in that way a broader and more general labor movement. *The Labor World*, its mouthpiece, edited by Sen Katayama, became a real Socialist organ.

The Socialist movement was founded in 1899 by a few young men in Tokyo. It was at first a purely academic affair, a debating society for intellectuals who had discovered Socialism while studying in Europe or America. This changed when the Railroad Workers' Union at its annual meeting passed a resolution joining the movement for general suffrage and indorsing Socialism in its platform as the final goal of the labor movement. The debating circle which met at a Unitarian Church was so greatly encouraged that the *Socialist Party of Japan* was founded by them and in 1901 a Manifesto with the Socialist platform was published in *The Labor World*. But this party had a rather short life. The government immediately suppressed the Socialist Party, its organ and the four non-socialistic daily papers in Tokyo which had printed the party manifesto. The Socialists then formed a Socialist association and started educational work. They held regular monthly public meetings, which were always attended by hundreds and by charging a small admission fee they soon collected a considerable propaganda fund. During the Russo-Japanese war the Socialists conducted an energetic anti-war propaganda and increased their membership to five thousand men and women. They now published a weekly paper, distributed leaflets, pamphlets and books and held meetings all over the country.

After the war the Socialist Party was revived and a Socialist daily published in Tokyo. But again the government used all the means in its power to suppress the Socialist movement; fifty members were sent to prison, one editor after the other was arrested and jailed until after seventy days the publication of the daily newspaper ceased. Demonstrations were arranged, mass meetings on public streets held despite the police prohibition and the propaganda conducted so vigorously that the government became ever more brutal and violent in the suppression of the movement. It was only natural that the movement ceased its public activities and became once more a secret organization. The result was the world famous Anarchist trial of 1909-1910. Twenty-four Socialists and Anarchists were condemned to death; twelve of the men were hanged, all Socialist literature was confiscated, the books burned and the party dissolved. Since then very little Socialist propaganda has been possible.

Dr. T. Koto, a famous surgeon and physician, who learned his Socialism in Germany, began a movement to treat and cure the poor for almost nothing and has had the satisfaction of seeing this movement develop into a big social movement with five branches in Tokyo, Yokohama and Osaka. Two years ago the

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associated Socialist physicians treated 703,274 persons in spite of strong opposition from the medical profession. This organization publishes a paper, edited by Socialists, which already has a circulation of several hundred thousand.

There exists another "labor" movement in Japan—with the permission and encouragement of the government. It is the so-called *Yu-ai-Kai*, which is controlled by bourgeois reformers and managed by B. Suzuki, who was the delegate to the American Federation of Labor conventions in 1915 and 1916. This organization claims a membership of several thousand.

The Socialists are still denied the rights of agitation and organization. A few underground organizations are in existence. The one monthly publication, edited by T. Sakai and others, gives extensive foreign Socialist news and discusses in a scholarly way all problems of international Socialism; but it does not print propaganda or news articles. Grouped around this paper, *New Society*, there are a few dozen Socialists who meet once a month to discuss and debate quietly all important questions of the day as they confront the labor movement. This is the only Socialist activity that is possible in Japan.

The oppression and persecution of Socialists and class conscious unionists may be expected to continue, for the annual budget provides \$135,000 for the suppression of the labor movement. The government keeps a secret list of all known Socialists and has one special police inspector at every police headquarters in charge of the anti-Socialist activities. This list is also sent to foreign countries, such as the United States, Canada and China with instructions to the vice-consuls to watch their countrymen and report as soon as one becomes active in the Socialist movement. Fusatoro Ota, a resident of Seattle, Wash., was thus suspected to be a Socialist: the Vice-Consul notified his government and was instructed to send Ota home. The Consul devised a pretext to kidnap him; he called Ota on November 7, 1915, to the Japanese steamer *Akri Maru* and imprisoned him in the ship's hospital and illegally deported him to Japan. Meyer London, the Socialist congressman, brought it before congress, but without success. This illegal deportation wrought great mischief among the Japanese settlers at Seattle, Wash. Last summer the Japanese daily *Asahi* attacked Mr. Furunya, who owns a large Japanese store and a bank, calling him an accomplice of the Socialist Ota, and stating that Furunya would soon be deported too. This fake news caused a run on Furunya's bank. Ota is still awaiting trial in Yokohama, in spite of the fact that at a preliminary hearing in June, 1917, the judge found him not guilty.

In December, 1916, three Socialists, Terui, at Oakland, Ogawo, at Berkeley, and Orimo, at San Francisco, started with a few others a labor union under the name of the *Japanese Federation*

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of *Labor Unions of America*. The progress made has, as yet, been inconsiderable; a labor club was recently started in San Francisco and a free employment agency was established. The organization work among Japanese workers in America would proceed much easier were it not for the discrimination shown by the Japanese Consul. Since it is almost impossible to get a passport for a Socialist or radical union man, most of the Japanese workers in the United States keep away from all organizations.

The progress made by the Socialist and labor movement in Japan in 1916 was not encouraging and this in spite of favorable industrial conditions. The much advertised Yu-ai-Kai (Friendly Society of Japan), is still a very small and insignificant organization. It depends almost entirely on a monthly publication, whose subscribers are classed as regular members of the Yu-ai-Kai; the member pays no dues but only the regular subscription to the monthly magazine. About a dozen intellectuals are grouped around the periodical, whose editor-in-chief is Bunji Suzuki. The editors often go on agitation trips to advertise their paper and preach at the same time the gospel of the identity of interest between labor and capital. If there arises a difference between employer and employees, their first step is to conciliate and to try to get the employers to agree to an arbitration board. While they often accomplish something for the workers on strike or about to go on strike, they more often check the progress of a real labor movement.

In September, 1916, workmen in the city of Osaka, who had been members of the Yu-ai-Kai, organized a radical trade union. They had become dissatisfied with their organization and wanted a militant body. This labor union has now 2,000 members, publishes a monthly organ, *Factory Life*, which is edited by a Socialist and promises to become the nucleus of a strong, class-conscious labor union.

CANADA

The Government of Canada is federal, centred at Ottawa, which city is the capital of the Dominion, while the provinces have their respective local Legislatures. The head of the Federal Government is the Governor-General, representing the British Crown. The Lieutenant-Governors of the several provinces are appointed by the Federal Government. The Legislatures are elected by the people of each province. The Senate (Dominion Parliament) is composed of 87 members. The House of Commons is composed of 284 members. The members of the House are elected under the several provincial franchises, in accordance with a Federal act passed in 1898. The Senators are appointed for life.

Canada with its vast territorial extent is still thinly populated, which fact alone would place it among the great agrarian nations. But there has been in recent years a growth of industrial centers in certain parts of Canada, some of which rank to-day with the large manufacturing cities of the American continent. It was inevitable that the industrial workers who went to Canada

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from countries other than England should inject into Canadian politics a new element of dissatisfaction with the traditional method of supporting one or the other of the two old parties. This dissatisfaction led to the founding of Socialist organizations. In 1890 there were branches of the American Socialist Labor Party in Montreal, Toronto and Winnipeg. A short time before the split of the S. L. P. in the U. S. in 1899 a Canadian Socialist League was organized, because there was lively dissatisfaction with the methods and tactics of the S. L. P. In a short time 60 leagues had been organized in the Province of Ontario, which were followed, two years later, by the Socialist Party of British Columbia. In 1905 all existing Socialist organizations of Canada were united in the Socialist Party of Canada. The *Western Clarion* became the official party organ.

The way of the Canadian party is a stony one, for the labor unions are almost wholly followers of the old capitalist parties, who reward them by occasionally putting one or the other of the union leaders into public office. But the party is progressing, nevertheless, as the following statistics of membership will show:

1903.....	3,507	1911.....	15,852
1907.....	3,670	1912.....	15,857
1908.....	8,697	1913.....	17,071
1909.....	9,688	1915.....	16,800
1910.....	10,929		

The Canadian Socialists have not yet succeeded in sending representatives to the Dominion Parliament. They did succeed, however, in electing O'Brien in Alberta in 1909 and Rigg in Manitoba in 1915 to the provincial legislatures.

In 1911 a second Socialist Party came into existence, the *Social Democratic Party* of Canada which on January 1, 1915, had 230 Locals, with a membership of 5,380, a paid secretary and two representatives, Jack Place and Parker Williams in the House of British Columbia. Three years ago the party had several weekly and monthly papers in the English and other languages. To-day only *The Forward* is still published; it is the official paper of the party. This party joined the International in 1912, while the Socialist Party has no international connections. The latter has refused to join so long as the Labor parties of Great Britain and Australia are admitted to the International.

In the Provincial election in Ontario in 1914 the S. D. P. polled over 6,000 votes (14 candidates) and in the municipal election in Winnipeg 2,000 votes were polled for its candidate against 2,500 for the Liberal and 3,000 for the Conservative.

The big issue in Canada for the last year has been Conscription. The Conservative party has tried to force conscription upon an unwilling country, but since enough volunteers re-

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sponded, it had had no chance to prove the necessity for this measure. Finally its opportunity came last spring, when Great Britain asked for twice the number of soldiers Canada had furnished hitherto. A bitter parliamentary fight followed, the Liberals under the leadership of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the former Prime Minister, opposing conscription. But the Liberal Party split on this issue and only the French Nationalists followed Laurier. The Dominion Parliament adopted the conscription bill with a large majority but it was understood that an election would take place soon after adjournment and that the conscription law would be the issue to be fought out in the campaign. This election will take place during January, 1918. A Coalition cabinet was named in October, 1917, so that the campaign will be on non-partisan lines.

Before the dissolution of the Dominion Parliament a new election law was passed which enfranchised all women of Canadian birth or of English nativity or the wives of such electors. But the franchise was taken away—for this election—from the men who had been naturalized since 1902 and were of enemy birth. Thus men of German, Austrian, Hungarian, Bulgarian and Turkish origin are temporarily disfranchised.

The general labor movement in Canada is strongly under the influence of the American Federation of Labor. This may be the reason why the Labor Party, founded by the labor unions of Canada, has progressed far more slowly than those of England and Australia. The nationalist spirit of the Canadian worker resents what is called the dictatorship of American leaders, and, therefore, opposes the pure and simple labor movement. The Labor Party has elected one representative, Mann, to the Dominion Parliament, another having been elected as Liberal-Labor member. Canada has altogether 166,163 trade unionists, 104,482 of whom are affiliated with the A. F. of L.; 23,813 belong to exclusively Canadian unions, while of the remainder some are affiliated with branches or parts of the A. F. of L., and others are entirely independent. The labor unions had in

<i>Members</i>	
1911.....	133,132
1912.....	160,120
1913.....	175,799
1914.....	166,163
1915.....	143,343

The decrease in membership in 1914 was caused by the war, for on December 31, 1914, 3,498 union men had already resigned to join the army, while several thousands did so without resigning from their organizations. On December 31, 1915, the number of resignations had risen to 12,411.

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LATIN AMERICA

Neither economic nor political conditions have hitherto favored the rise of a proletarian movement in Latin America. Even where modern industry has to some extent grown up, it has been largely owned abroad. The exotic character of capitalism in these countries has hampered the normal development. The mass of the people are uneducated, have a low standard of living, are widely dispersed, and so lack political initiative and cohesion. Under nominally liberal republican constitutions in most of the states, a small oligarchy of landowners, merchants, and bankers has generally held power through the free use of corruption and military force; and this oligarchy has in many cases made matters yet worse by selling out the economic resources and opportunities of their countries to European and American capitalists. Yet within the last two decades the Socialist and Labor movement has gained some foothold.

ARGENTINA

A Republic: the President is elected indirectly for six years, the legislative authority is vested in a National Congress consisting of a Senate (80 members) and a House of Deputies (120 members). Senators are elected indirectly, deputies by direct vote.

Argentina was the first of the Latin-American countries where a Socialist Party was organized; this was in 1896, when two groups of German and Italian workingmen organized their groups into the *Socialist Party* of Argentina. The party has been represented at International Socialist Congresses and the International Socialist Bureau since 1904, has participated in several general elections and has worked for the promotion of trade unionism and for labor legislation.

Starting with 134 votes, it reached 1,257 in 1904 and elected one member of the House of Deputies. In 1905 and again in 1909-10, on account of its vigorous protest against the violent suppression of strikes, its leading members were prosecuted and gangs of "hooligans," with the connivance of the police, sacked the offices of its papers. Apparently it gained strength from these attacks, as well as from a propaganda tour by Jean Jaures in 1911. Its vote grew from 3,500 to 5,200, to 7,000 and in 1912 to 23,000, electing two Deputies. In 1913 it won two more seats in the House and one in the Senate. In 1914 it increased its representation in the House to nine, out of 120, and had over 40,000 votes.

The 1916 election showed 60,000 votes for the party and 14 representatives. There are Socialists also in three state legislatures. The party had 4,000 members in 1912, 4,800 in 1914 and 7,400 in October, 1916. The chief organ of the party is the daily *Vanguardia*, published in Buenos Ayres. There are in addition ten weeklies published in seven different languages.

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Turning to the *labor movement* we find that in Buenos Ayres, the capital, the political power of the movement is concentrated in the Socialist Party, which has a much stronger organization than the trade-unions and syndicates. The strongest labor organization in Argentina is the Federacion Obrera Reginal Argentine, or the Argentina Federation of Labor. This federation embraces twenty unions and syndicates, one of the unions being the Railroad Mens Federation, or Federation Obrera Ferro-carrilera with 5,000 members. The Argentina Federation has altogether 17,000 members. There is another institution called, also, Argentina Federation of Labor, which is at the same time a strong organization. On account of their internal divisions, exact information about it is difficult to obtain. Chauffeurs, printers and stevedores have, also, a very powerful association. There are libraries, stores, and renting houses conducted on the most modern co-operative basis.

When the danger of Argentina's intervention became imminent, the Socialist Party worked hard for the maintenance of peace and neutrality. In the summer and fall of 1917 more than 600 anti-war meetings were held in industrial centers and many of the speakers and organizers of the party were arrested. A strong anti-militaristic propaganda to counteract the pro-war agitation of a certain capitalist element resulted in persecution of the Executive Committee of the party. An investigation of its international connections—its relations with the International Socialist Bureau—was ordered and was still in progress when this was written.

BRAZIL

According to the Constitution adopted by the National Congress on Feb. 24, 1891, the Brazilian nation is constituted as the United States of Brazil, comprising twenty states, one National Territory, and one Federal District. The executive authority is exercised by a president elected directly by the people for a term of four years. The National Congress consists of a Senate (68 members) and a Chamber of Deputies (212 members), all elected by direct vote.

In Brazil a labor movement has existed for some time among the numerous immigrant workers of Rio de Janeiro, Sao Paulo, and Bahia, with an Italian daily paper *Avanti*, and a German weekly *Vorwaerts* as its principal organs. Recently native Portuguese-speaking elements have been aroused, and early in 1916 a Socialist Party was formed, with branches in four places besides those named, and with a weekly organ in the Portuguese language published at Sao Paulo. Since then seven more branches have been organized in different parts of Brazil and more than 2,570 men and women brought into the party.

Following the diplomatic break and later the declaration of war between the United States and Germany, heated discussions took place in the Socialist Party of Brazil, since the

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Portuguese-speaking branches declared themselves in favor of participation in the war. The Italian and German sections dissented and a split was threatened. These difficulties seem to have been overcome, but it is too early to make positive statements.

The new party was very successful in municipal elections and in one state election in which it took part.

CHILE

A Republic with the executive power exercised by a president elected by indirect vote for five years and the legislative power in the hands of a National Congress consisting of a Senate and a Chamber of Deputies. There are 87 Senators and 118 deputies, all elected by direct votes.

In 1887 there was founded in Chile a Democratic party composed chiefly of workingmen, having Socialistic tendencies. In 1894 for the first time it won a seat in the chamber of Deputies, in 1897 a second, and in 1901 a third. In 1906 it elected six of its candidates, but three were arbitrarily unseated. At this time it had also eighty representatives in city councils, and its vote had grown to 18,000. After a period of disorganization, there was formed in the North, in 1912, a *Socialist Labor party*, which that year succeeded in electing to the Chamber Luis Recabarren, a printer and a veteran of the labor movement. He was unseated because of his refusal to take an oath inconsistent with his principles. The government reported the existence in 1910 of 433 local labor unions with 65,000 members, and in 1913 of 547 unions with 92,000 members. These figures include workmen's mutual-aid societies and other bodies that are not properly trade unions; but there were at any rate 10,000 railway men, 2,000 bakery workers, over 2,000 shoe-makers, nearly 2,000 carpenters, 1,000 wagon builders, and 800 street-railway employees organized in real unions in central Chile, besides a separate federation in the extreme South and unions of miners and others in the North. On account of the peculiar configuration of the country, which is about 100 miles wide and over 2,000 miles long, the labor movement is not strongly centralized. Early in 1914, in reprisal for railway and mine strikes, the principal labor leaders and editors were arrested. Meanwhile, the Socialist Labor party has spread from the North to other regions, and in 1915 it held its first national congress at Santiago and established there an organ entitled *Vanguardia*.

An account of the labor movement in Chile is contained in the report presented by Carlos Loveira to the Baltimore Convention of the American Federation of Labor. In Valparaiso, a city of 200,000 people and the largest seaport of Chile, there are, Loveira says, "many unions, but no properly constituted federation. The lack of federation comes from the present uncertainty of the unions as to what is the best form of tactics;

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leaders of different schools of thought all desire to bring the workers to their particular viewpoint. This state of things is common in Latin-American countries where they have failed to understand how to meet the needs of the hour and yet preserve the ideals of the working class.

"A socialist movement is starting in Chile which publishes its own daily paper and several weekly reviews. The labor movement prints several weekly and semi-weekly papers in various Chilean towns. In addition, in Valparaiso, the two largest and most important papers published daily a section entirely devoted to labor written by men from the ranks of labor. In Santiago, the Chilean capital, I found the same divisions as to tactics and labor ideals that exist in Valparaiso, but unity is steadily growing. I found many strong unions besides the Latin-American Centre (referred to in the article on Peru), such as the Railroad Brotherhood, which is the strongest, tailors, commercial clerks, and an important federation called Congress Obrero, or Labor Congress."

How the workers of Chile maintain friendly relations with those of Peru, despite the antagonism between the two countries and the absence of diplomatic relations between their Governments, is described in the article on Peru.

CUBA

A Republic, with an elected president and a National Congress, consisting of a Senate (24 members) and a House of Representatives (114 members). Every male Cuban who is twenty-one years of age has a vote.

Cuba's principal industries are the growing of sugar and tobacco, but coffee, cocoa, cereals, and potatoes are also produced, and a considerable trade is done in fruits and minerals. Cuba also has forest lands, many of which are in private ownership, but the State owns forests with an area of 1,250,000 acres. In the District of Santiago de Cuba copper, manganese, and iron mines are worked. The iron mines employ over 4,000 workers.

Delivered in 1907 from the yoke of Spain, Cuba was rescued from the plunder of Spanish officials only to fall into the hardly less scrupulous clutches of American capitalists. As a result of long misrule and ecclesiastical domination, the workers are mostly illiterate, incapable of grasping political ideas, and slow to organize industrially or politically, so that, while the government is in form a democratic republic, there has been no great progress towards real freedom. Nevertheless, despite repressive measures, the Socialist and trade union movements have taken up the fight for better conditions, and as the industrial development of the island proceeds, labor organization is likewise growing.

The Cuban *Socialist Party* was formed in 1910, much of its support coming from trade-unions, which were originally off-

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shoots of those in Spain. In 1912, the Radical Labor Party merged with the Socialist Party. Various attempts by the party, in co-operation with the trade-unions, to secure representation in the National Congress have so far failed, but at the last election in 1916 the party polled nearly 15,000 votes. The leading newspaper is *El Socialista*. There are also two trade-union newspapers, *La Tierra* and *Via Libre*.

Cuba declared war against Germany immediately after the United States. President Menocal, on the day that the United States took action, sent a message to the National Congress recommending a declaration of war. On April 7 both Houses of the Congress in special session voted in favor of war without any dissent; and the same night all the German ships in Cuban ports were seized.

The address of the Socialist Party headquarters is:
San Rafael, 86, Habana, Cuba.

MEXICO

A federal Republic with a genuinely liberal constitution, a Parliament consisting of two houses and a President, who has about the same powers as that of the United States of America.

Mexico is not yet tranquil and rumblings of revolutionary character are still heard. Conditions, however, have so greatly improved during the last year that the Carranza government seems to be safely established, but a genuinely republican state of affairs cannot yet be said to exist. Nevertheless, the assurance that the dictatorship of one or the other group of influential capitalists is over and the rule of the people will soon be definitely established is based upon facts and not upon hopes.

Turning to the history of the revolutionary movement of Mexico we find that in the early nineties there was formed the Junta Revolucionaria del Partido Liberal, which strove for the revival of the Constitution of 1857 and the agrarian program of reform. Some years later, when many of its original members had been killed or had died in prison, it made its headquarters at St. Louis, Mo., where it published a weekly paper called *Regeneracion*, in Spanish and English, to enlighten American public opinion and combat intervention, and to arouse the spirit of the Mexican masses by copies smuggled across the border. Among its leading members at this time were several Socialists — L. Gutierrez de Lara, Ricardo Flores Magon, Manuel Sarabia, and others — who welcomed the beginnings of a labor movement in the mining and manufacturing centers of Mexico, and were able to enlist the sympathy of the Socialist Party, the Western Federation of Miners, and other workingclass organizations in the United States. In 1906-07 occurred a strike of 40,000 workers in the cotton mills of Orizaba and another of 10,000 copper

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miners at Cananea. Both were crushed by the slaughter of hundreds of strikers, but the spirit of revolt still spread. This new phase of the situation alarmed powerful capitalist groups in the United States, and yielding to their desires the Roosevelt Administration harried the members of the Junta with incessant searches, arrests, and prosecutions. Three were imprisoned for "breach of neutrality," though it was notorious that armed agents of capitalist interests could cross the frontier with impunity.

In 1910 armed revolt broke out simultaneously in the North and the South. Within a few months the whole country was ablaze. The insurgents were mostly peons, with some wage-workers; but certain propertied elements also took a prominent part in the movement, though by no means fully sharing its purposes. The situation was further complicated by the participation of military adventurers, and the rivalry of various exploiting groups, who backed this or that faction as suited their purpose for the moment.

Throughout this period the Socialist and Socialist-Labor parties and many other labor and radical organizations in this country had taken an ever keener interest in Mexican affairs, sympathizing with the democratic elements, though not always able at the time clearly to distinguish the genuine from the treacherous ones. The Socialist party convention of 1908 denounced the arrest of Magon, Rivera, Sarabia, and Villareal, and pledged them support, a pledge which was made good by vigorous agitation especially in the Southwest. The convention of 1910 adopted a resolution demanding "that the government of this country shall not interfere in the affairs of Mexico and other Latin-American republics" and declaring that the party was "unalterably opposed to the powers of this nation being used to buttress any foreign despotism." In the spring of 1911 President Taft massed troops on the frontier and seemed to be preparing to go to the rescue of Diaz. In March the Socialist National Executive Committee issued a manifesto headed "Withdraw the Troops!" calling for a popular protest against intervention. Many unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, as well as more radical labor organizations, joined in distributing copies of this manifesto, holding mass meetings, and sending addresses to the President and Congress. In April Representative Berger submitted a petition for the recall of the troops, with 87,600 signatures, and introduced a joint resolution to the same effect—the first Socialist resolution ever presented in the United States Congress. The party convention of 1912 reaffirmed the demand for non-interference. Early in 1914 the Tampico affair was the pretext for a very strenuous effort through the capitalist press to create enthusiasm for a Mexican war, but this attempt was defeated through vigorous Socialist and Labor agitation, which was made more effective by the fact

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that the Ludlow Massacre had roused intense feeling against the military.

By the spring of 1916 the Carranza government appeared to be fairly well established, and had given evidence of a serious intention to carry out a program of social reform. In Sonora all concessions granted by Huerta and Villa were declared void, and the state took charge of the operation of certain disputed mines; the right of labor organization was recognized and a minimum wage decreed. In Vera Cruz the formation of trade unions was authorized under legal regulation; and a commission was set up with power to enforce maximum prices for necessities of life. In Yucatan large estates were repurchased at a valuation fixed by the state, and the land so acquired was divided into small tracts, given to peons in use, subject to an annual tax, the title remaining in the state and possession being conditioned on actual cultivation; a co-operative society of sisal growers was formed, with state backing, to free them from their dependence on the American fibre trust; the old "cuentas" or standing accounts against peons were cancelled, the law forbidding them to leave an employer while in debt to him was repealed, and a new labor law was put in force, providing for a maximum workday and minimum wage, for accident compensation and maternity protection, and encouraging the formation of trade unions. The first convention of women ever held in Mexico took place early in 1916, and a woman's paper, *La Mujer Mexicana*, sprang up at the capital.

The Mexican labor movement is still in a somewhat unstable condition. In some cases it appears to be only tolerated by the government, in others to be patronized and even perhaps controlled. In Yucatan there are unions of bakers, cooks and waiters, carpenters, clerks, dockers, electricians, hackmen, masons, machinists and boiler makers, railway workers, sailors, and smeltermen; their organ is *La Voz de la Revolucion*, at Merida, edited by Baltasar Pages. In the city of Mexico Dr. Alt edits *Accion Mundial*, the chief organ of the "Casa del Obrero Mundial" (The World Labor House), one of the two national labor federations. The other is the "Confederacion de Sindicatos Obreros" or Federation of Labor Unions, which has its headquarters at Vera Cruz, with Ursulo Galvan and Joaquin Mendizal as its secretaries. The former of these two bodies seems to represent the syndicalist tendency, the latter to be modeled after the A. F. of L.

The Socialist movement of Mexico developed great strength during the last two years; this is especially true of certain states, where it became the dominant force. The Socialism, however, of some or most of the Mexican revolutionists and Socialists is not quite the scientific Socialism known to the workers of Europe and America. But in this experimental stage of democratic

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development we cannot fail to watch with the keenest interest the trend of "practical" Socialism in Mexico.

YUCATAN UNDER SOCIALIST GOVERNMENT

Especially notable is the success and work of the Socialist Party in the province of Yucatan, one of the most highly developed industrial regions of Mexico. When General Salvador Alvarado conquered Yucatan in 1915 he found there a state of slavery differing from Congo and its horrors only in its minor details. Alvarado, militant Socialist and at the same time supporter of Carranza, confiscated idle lands, freed peons and gave them land and financial assistance to work the land. At the same time he organized throughout Yucatan, in even the most remote pueblos, Socialist locals and co-operative societies. Every peon and workingman joined a local, so that the membership soon numbered 100,000. It was easy, therefore, for Alvarado to accomplish something, for he had the population behind him. The government paid the party dues and all the campaign expenses.

The reason for this was that a presidential election was under way and a voting machine had to be created to elect Carranza. Under the slogan, "Socialism, Land and Liberty," Carranza was elected President of Mexico by more than ninety per cent of the vote of the citizens, ostensibly Socialists, but in reality supporters of any and every political creed. The official returns, however, classified them as Socialists. After Carranza's election, the necessity for the voting machine almost diminished and it was needed only for state and local elections. But a reorganization took place, as some of the leading members of the party had recognized the need of education and started a campaign to make the people acquainted with the aims and principles of Socialism. Alvarado, who belonged to this honest and serious element of the Socialist Party, organized an adjunct to the party which was called "Liga de Resistencia del Partido Socialista." This annex was organized according to the principles of the Socialist movement. It has at present about 50,000 dues-paying members (50 cts. monthly dues) and is organized into locals which have permanent chairmen, boards of directors, and other officers, all elected by the membership for one year. The recall, referendum and initiative are in operation. The locals send delegates to a central body which is located in Merida, the capital of Yucatan. This central body includes the President of the Socialist Party, Carlos Castro Morales, President of the United Railways of Yucatan and candidate for Governor on the Socialist and Constitutionalist tickets. He has been a railroad worker and union organizer for 27 years. Then come the "vocales," or executive board of seven, with Felipe Carrillo, chairman, and Valencia Lopez secretary. These men are all paid and can devote their whole time to the movement.

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An interesting office in every local and district is the Labor Agent, whose duty it is to see that the labor laws of Yucatan, and the labor provisions of the Mexican Constitution are enforced. While these positions are unofficial, their importance is very great, since the Socialist Party, which appoints the labor agents is extremely powerful. Their decisions are usually carried out by labor and capital. It is this feature that makes it easy for the Liga de Resistencia to get such a favorable hearing everywhere among the workers and peons. It happened often during the period of reconstruction that, following a decision of the Labor Agent, whole communities of three to four thousand people joined the party and paid their dues at the first organization meeting of the local.

The propaganda is carried on by paid speakers who must know both Spanish and the language of the Maya Indians, also by a press consisting of a comic monthly and two weeklies, *El Socialista* and *El Radical*, each with a circulation of 20,000. Besides the only daily in Yucatan, *La Voz de la Revolucion*, being a government paper, publishes Socialist literature and carries on Socialist work.

With the reorganization of the party as a genuinely effective and class-conscious organization, with the establishment of many co-operative societies which help the workers in their small way, with the education on revolutionary lines going on, the party of Yucatan will in the near future be an instrument for real and lasting proletarian progress. At present, all mayors, municipal councils, federal and state officials, are members of the Socialist Party.

The official address of the party is: Partido Socialista, Calles 59 y 54, Merida, Yucatan, Mexico.

THE NEW MEXICAN CONSTITUTION AND LABOR ¹

TITLE VI

OF LABOR AND SOCIAL WELFARE

Art. 123.—The Congress and the State Legislatures shall make laws relative to labor with due regard for the needs of each region of the Republic, and in conformity with the following principles, and these principles and laws shall govern the labor of skilled and unskilled workmen, employees, domestic servants and artisans, and in general every contract of labor.

I.—Eight hours shall be the maximum limit of a day's work.

II.—The maximum limit of night work shall be seven hours. Unhealthy and dangerous occupations are forbidden to all women and to children under sixteen years of age. Night work in factories is likewise forbidden to women and to children under sixteen years of age; nor shall they be employed in commercial establishments after ten o'clock at night.

III.—The maximum limit of a day's work for children over twelve and under sixteen years of age shall be six hours. The work of children under twelve years of age cannot be made the object of a contract.

¹ The Constitution of the United States of Mexico, signed Jan. 31, and promulgated Feb. 5, 1917.

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IV.—Every workman shall enjoy at least one day's rest for every six days' work.

V.—Women shall not perform any physical work requiring considerable physical effort during the three months immediately preceding parturition; during the month following parturition they shall necessarily enjoy a period of rest and shall receive their salaries or wages in full and retain their employment and the rights they may have acquired under their contracts. During the period of lactation they shall enjoy two extraordinary daily periods of rest of one-half hour each in order to nurse their children.

VI.—The minimum wage to be received by a workman shall be that considered sufficient, according to the conditions prevailing in the respective region of the country, to satisfy the normal needs of the life of the workman, his education and his lawful pleasures, considering him as the head of a family. In all agricultural, commercial, manufacturing or mining enterprises the workmen shall have the right to participate in the profits in the manner fixed in Clause IX of this article.

VII.—The same compensation shall be paid for the same work without regard to sex or nationality.

VIII.—The minimum wage shall be exempt from attachment, set-off or discount.

IX.—The determination of the minimum wage and of the rate of profit-sharing described in Clause VI shall be made by special commissions to be appointed in each municipality and to be subordinated to the Central Board of Conciliation to be established in each State.

X.—All wages shall be paid in legal currency and shall not be paid in merchandise, orders, counters or any other representative token with which it is sought to substitute money.

XI.—When owing to special circumstances it becomes necessary to increase the working hours there shall be paid as wages for the overtime one hundred per cent. more than those fixed for regular time. In no case shall the overtime exceed three hours nor continue for more than three consecutive days; and no women of whatever age nor boys under sixteen years of age may engage in overtime work.

XII.—In every agricultural, industrial, mining or similar class of work employers are bound to furnish their workmen comfortable and sanitary dwelling-places for which they may charge rents not exceeding one-half of one per cent. per month of the assessed value of the properties. They shall likewise establish schools, dispensaries and other services necessary to the community. If the factories are located within inhabited places and more than one hundred persons are employed therein, the first of the above mentioned conditions shall be complied with.

XIII.—Furthermore, there shall be set aside in these labor centers, whenever their population exceeds two hundred inhabitants, a space of land not less than five thousand square meters for the establishment of public markets, and the construction of buildings designed for municipal services and places of amusement. No saloons nor gambling houses shall be permitted in such labor centers.

XIV.—Employers shall be liable for labor accidents and occupational diseases arising from work; therefore, employers shall pay the proper indemnity, according to whether death or merely temporary or permanent disability has ensued, in accordance with the provisions of law. This liability shall remain in force even though the employer contract for the work through an agent.

XV.—Employers shall be bound to observe in the installation of their establishments all the provisions of law regarding hygiene and sanitation and to adopt adequate measures to prevent accidents due to the use of machinery, tools and working materials, as well as to organize work in such a manner as to assure the greatest guarantees possible for the health and lives of workmen compatible with the nature of the work, under penalties which the law shall determine.

XVI.—Workmen and employers shall have the right to unite for the defense of their respective interests, by forming syndicates, unions, etc.

XVII.—The law shall recognize the right of workmen and employers to strike and to suspend work.

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XVIII.—Strikes shall be lawful when by the employment of peaceful means they shall aim to bring about a balance between the various factors of production, and to harmonize the rights of capital and labor. In public services, the workmen shall be obliged to give notice ten days in advance to the Board of Conciliation and Arbitration of the date set for the suspension of work. Strikes shall only be considered unlawful when the majority of the strikers shall resort to acts of violence against persons or property, or in case of war when the strikers belong to establishments and services dependent on the government. Employees of military manufacturing establishments of the Federal Government shall not be included in the provisions of this clause inasmuch as they are a dependency of the national army.

XIX.—Lockouts shall only be lawful when the excess of production shall render it necessary to shut down in order to maintain prices reasonably above the cost of production, subject to the approval of the Board of Conciliation and Arbitration.

XX.—Differences or disputes between capital and labor shall be submitted for settlement to a board of conciliation and arbitration to consist of an equal number of representatives of the workmen and of the employers and of one representative of the Government.

XXI.—If the employer shall refuse to submit his differences to arbitration or to accept the award rendered by the Board the labor contract shall be considered as terminated, and the employer shall be bound to indemnify the workman by the payment to him of three months' wages, in addition to the liability which he may have incurred by reason of the dispute. If the workman reject the award the contract will be held to have terminated.

XXII.—An employer who discharges a workman without proper cause or for having joined a union or syndicate or for having taken part in a lawful strike shall be bound, at the option of the workman, either to perform the contract or to indemnify him by the payment of three months' wages. He shall incur the same liability if the workman shall leave his service on account of the lack of good faith on the part of the employer or of maltreatment either as to his own person or that of his wife, parents, children or brothers or sisters. The employer cannot evade this liability when the maltreatment is inflicted by subordinates or agents acting with his consent or knowledge.

XXIII.—Claims of workmen for salaries or wages accrued during the past year and other indemnity claims shall be preferred over any other claims in cases of bankruptcy or execution proceedings.

XXIV.—Debts contracted by workmen in favor of their employers or their employers' associates, subordinates or agents, may only be charged against the workmen themselves and in no case and for no reason collected from the members of his family. Nor shall such debts be paid by the taking of more than the entire wages of the workman for any one month.

XXV.—No fee shall be charged for finding work for workmen by municipal offices, employment bureaus or other public or private agencies.

XXVI.—Every contract between a Mexican citizen and a foreign principal shall be legalized before the competent municipal authority and viséed by the Consul of the nation to which the workman is undertaking to go, on the understanding that in addition to the usual clauses special and clear provisions shall be inserted for the payment by the foreign principal making the contract of the cost to the laborer of repatriation.

XXVII.—The following stipulations shall be null and void and shall not bind the contracting parties even though embodied in the contract:

(a) Stipulations providing for inhuman day's work on account of its notorious excessiveness, in view of the nature of the work.

(b) Stipulations providing for a wage rate which in the judgment of the Board of Conciliation and Arbitration is not remunerative.

(c) Stipulations providing for a term of more than one week before the payment of wages.

(d) Stipulations providing for the assigning of places of amusement, eating places, cafes, taverns, saloons or shops for the payment of wages, when employees of such establishments are not involved.

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(e) Stipulations involving a direct or indirect obligation to purchase articles of consumption in specified shops or places.

(f) Stipulations permitting the retention of wages by way of fines.

(g) Stipulations constituting a waiver on the part of the workman of the indemnities to which he may become entitled by reason of labor accidents or occupational diseases, damages for nonperformance of the contract, or for discharge from work.

(h) All other stipulations implying the waiver of some right vested in the workman by labor laws.

XXVIII.—The law shall decide what property constitutes the family estate. These goods shall be inalienable and may not be mortgaged, garnished or attached and may be bequeathed and inherited with simplified formalities in the succession proceedings.

XXIX.—Institutions of popular insurance established for old age, sickness, life, unemployment, accident and others of a similar character, are considered of social utility; the Federal and State Governments shall therefore encourage the organization of institutions of this character in order to instill and inculcate popular habits of thrift.

XXX.—Cooperative associations for the construction of cheap and sanitary dwelling houses for workmen shall likewise be considered of social utility whenever these properties are designed to be acquired in ownership by the workmen within specified periods.

PERU

A Republic with the executive power entrusted to a president elected for four years and the legislative power vested in a Senate of 52 members and a House of Representatives of 116 deputies. Both senators and deputies are elected by direct vote.

The labor movement in Peru is described by Carlos Loveira, formerly Chief of the Department of Labor of the State of Yucatan, Mexico, in his report to the Baltimore Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

"In Peru I found three federations of labor in the capital city, Lima. These organizations embrace, also, the labor movement of Callao, the largest seaport of this country; Callao is only twenty minutes ride from Lima. One of these federations is called Liga de Sociedades Unidas—or The League of United Societies—and is composed of 36 societies, called, in Spanish, mutualistas, or mutual benefit societies, which care for the sick, bury the dead, and give support to widows and orphans. These societies were the first form of labor organization in Latin America, and although they do not deal much with economic problems they are of great importance if it is remembered that they fathered the labor movement in these countries. They are steadily taking on modern forms as fast as the labor struggle demands.

"Another federation is the Confederacion General de Trabajadores, or General Federation of Workers, which embraces ten labor unions. These unions are made up of men who work as hodcarriers, building laborers, trackmen, street-car men, etc.

The largest and strongest federation is called the Confederacion de Artisanos, or Federation of Artisans, working as printers, carpenters, masons, painters, tailors, etc.

"These three federations all belong to the Centro Latino Americano, or Latin-American Centre. This Centre has its own

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board of directors, chosen from the most able men of labor, and presided over by a printer by the name of Alberto J. Montes.

"Although they have no political labor party organized in Peru, they support candidates at elections who are friendly to labor. There are now six labor members in the provincial legislature of Lima.

"In the capital of Peru the labor movement publishes two very important weekly papers."

Describing the Centre mentioned above, Loveira reports that there is a similar organization in Chile working in co-operation with that in Peru. "The purpose of this work," says Loveira, "is to promote a mutual and clear understanding as to their economic needs, and also to promote a lasting peace between the two countries, for be it known that the governments of Chile and Peru have had no diplomatic relations since the last war of several years ago. This was the war in which Peru lost two provinces to Chile. Both countries since their last struggle have been keeping their respective armies on a war footing. Each one of these labor centres has a resident delegate in the country of the other, and in this manner organized labor of Chile and Peru has formed a fraternal bond which at all times is a means of communication between the two peoples. And, while the governments are not represented by diplomatic agents, the organized workers of both countries are at all times in close touch with each other. This has been the great factor in the preservation of peace. These two centres have already met in congress in Santiago, the capital of Chile. As an enlargement of this work it is proposed that all the other South and Central American countries join this movement by sending delegates to the coming congress in December. In this manner the plan of the Pan-American Federation of Labor grows in South America, as it is growing in Mexico and the United States."

PORTO RICO

An insular possession of the United States. It was given a constitution by an act of the U. S. Congress, April 12, 1900 (known as the "Organic Act") which was subsequently amended. Porto Rico has representative government, but the Governor and the Executive Council, consisting of six heads of departments and five natives, are appointed by the President of the United States. The House of Delegates (36 members) and a Resident Commissioner to the United States, who has a seat in Congress, are elected by the people for two years. The Council and the House of Delegates constitute the Legislative Assembly, with the veto power vested in the Governor. The higher judges are also appointed by the President of the United States.

Of the working population of Porto Rico 63 per cent. are engaged in agriculture, fisheries, and mining; 21 per cent. in domestic and personal service; 8 per cent. in manufacturing industries; 8 per cent in trade and transportation. In 1910 there were 939 industrial establishments, employing 18,122 persons (15,582 wage-

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earners). Under Spanish rule about 85 per cent. of the population could neither read nor write. In 1910 the percentage of illiteracy had been reduced to 66 per cent. Thirty-five per cent. of the population consists of low paid colored workers. These facts help to explain the slow rate at which the labor movement has grown since the end of Spanish rule. Porto Rico is entirely under the domination of certain American interests who exploit the resources and workers of the island in a thoroughly conscienceless manner.

A Socialist movement, led by Santiago Iglesias and Eduardo Conde, appeared immediately after the island was annexed by the United States and was represented in the first convention of the Socialist Party of America, at Indianapolis in 1901. But the movement lost its Socialist character and gave way to a trade union organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. In 1908, however, a *Workers' Party*, accepting the principles of Socialism, was formed in Arecibo. It polled 702 votes that year; by 1914 it had extended its activities to the whole island and polled 4,398 votes, three-fourths of them in Arecibo, where it won a majority in the city council. In March, 1915, the first convention was held at Cayey, with fourteen local sections represented. It was decided to affiliate with the Socialist Party of America, and Esteban Padilla was elected as president and Manuel Rojas as secretary of the organization. Early in 1916 some 20,000 workers on the sugar plantations struck for the eight-hour day and an increase of wages, the existing rate being only 50 or 60 cents for a twelve-hour day. Great indignation was caused by the conduct of the island police, who attacked the strikers' parades and hall meetings at several places, killing five and wounding more than twenty men, women, and children.

At the national election held in August, 1917, the Workers' Party polled 25,000 votes and elected Santiago Iglesias to the House of Delegates. The capitalists tried to steal the election, but after a recount of the votes, Iglesias was declared elected.

URUGUAY

A Republic: the legislative power is in a Parliament of two houses, the Senate and Chamber of Representatives. When the Parliament is not in session, a permanent committee of two senators and five representatives assumes control of the executive power. The representatives are elected by direct vote; the senators by an electoral college, whose members are directly elected by the people. There are 19 senators and 90 representatives. The executive is given by the Constitution to the President of the Republic, elected every four years.

The *Socialist Party* of Uruguay in 1913 consisted of seven groups in the capital, Monte Video, and three groups, the total membership being about 1,000. The first Socialist representative, Dr. Emilio Frugoni, a professor in the University of Monte Video, was elected in 1911 with the cooperation of the Liberals.

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The chief organ of the party is *El Socialista*, a weekly with a circulation of about 5,000.

During the presidency of José Batlle y Ordóñez (1911 to 1915), a radical-progressive, the Government adopted an advanced policy of electoral reform, factory laws, abolition of capital punishment, and the reduction of clerical power. Life, fire, and property insurance was nationalized. On March 17, 1916, a law providing for the eight-hour day was put into force. There was considerable difficulty in the enforcement of the law because of the opposition of employers. In 1916 also an old-age pension act was passed, and a law giving the government control of the post offices and telegraph and telephone systems. Considerable discussion took place during 1916 in regard to still further democratizing the Constitution. Among the suggested reforms are the supercession of the president by a commission, direct election of senators, adoption of the referendum and the separation of church and state.

After the foregoing evidence of democratic progress it is not surprising to hear that Uruguay has a flourishing labor movement. Carlos Loveria, reporting at the Baltimore convention of the A. F. of L. on the labor movement in the South American republics, says: "Uruguay may be termed the Switzerland of the Western Hemisphere. It is the most liberal country in Latin-America in respect to legislation and customs of the people. The strong unions and syndicates that they have, have personality, influence enough to make the master class take them into consideration."

The address of the Socialist Party headquarters is:

Partido Socialista, Calle Colonia 144, Monte Video, Uruguay.

SOUTH AFRICA

A self-governing Dominion under the British Crown, the King being represented by a Governor-General, who exercises his powers by and with the advice and consent of ministers responsible to Parliament. There are two houses of Parliament: a Senate of forty members, eight nominated for 10 years by the Governor-General in council, and eight elected from each original province by the two Houses of the Colonial Legislature sitting together; and a House of Assembly consisting of members chosen as follows: From the Cape Colony 51; Natal 17; Transvaal 26; Orange Free State 17.

Only since the Act of Union of 1909 has South Africa evolved a united political and economic labor movement. This movement, at least that part of it which represents the coal and metal mining industries, directs its attacks equally against the capitalist exploiters and its colored competitors. The colored population forms by far the larger portion of the population, 4,700,000 out of less than 6,000,000. According to law they can become neither miners nor engineers. In all industries the skilled white workers try to exclude colored laborers, and the trade union movement is, therefore, inspired by theories of racial superiority.

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The founding of the Labor Party of South Africa in 1909 seemed to promise much for the future of the labor movement. In 1910 four representatives were elected, and soon after, the city of Johannesburg went almost completely labor-socialistic at a municipal election. But a bitter struggle soon arose between capital and labor, in which the government under General Louis Botha took a frankly one-sided stand. The militia was placed at the disposal of the capitalists. Sharp conflicts were frequent in 1913. The government sought to end the trouble by deporting, without trial, a number of the leading labor leaders. A general strike was the immediate answer. Bitter recriminations arose in Parliament when Creswell, the leader of the Labor Party, attacked the Botha government. An election held soon after resulted in a gratifying increase for the Labor Party. In the Transvaal, where the strike movement had been most bitter, 23 out of 25 elected deputies were members of the Labor Party. There the vote of the Labor Party was 26,108, of the Conservatives 12,305, of the Nationalists 3,029. In the Transvaal the Parliament consists of only 45 members, so that the Labor Party had the majority and, in consequence, control of the government.

When the war began in 1914 the prospects for the general election of 1915 were very bright, but the war caused a split in the movement. Creswell, who was on his way to England to secure the assistance of the labor movement of Great Britain, returned immediately, joined General Botha's army and went with it on its campaign to Southwest Africa. This called forth decided protests from these members of the workingclass, who refused to acknowledge an armistice between capital and labor. Twenty of the leading members resigned and instead of the seven members who had sat in the preceding Parliament only four were returned. Creswell as well as W. H. Andrews, the leader of the Internationalists, were re-elected.

The opponents of the suspension of the class struggle organized under the leadership of Andrews and Ivan Jones, the *International League*, which publishes *The International* and takes part in all elections. While the majority of the members of organized labor was very antagonistic from the start, the rank and file have in increasing numbers come to the aid of the internationalist wing and many seats have been won in municipal and provincial elections. The first election in which the International League took part was for the school board in Johannesburg. While the victorious candidates receive 3,500 votes, the Internationalists polled from 700 to 800 votes. Since then they have organized 29 branches with a membership of 1,900 and elected 180 members of councils and school boards.

The Labor Unions in South Africa have 100,000 members, and are very strongly organized in the mining, engineering and building trades as well as on the railroads. There are labor

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unions in all the industries, though some of them are still very weak. Since the outbreak of the war, they are working hand in hand with the Labor Party, the same persons frequently being members of both party and union executive committees.

The Secretary of the Labor Party is Reginald G. Barlow, Trades Hall, Johannesburg, P. O. Box 4,509.

The Secretary of the "International League" is D. Ivan Jones, 6 Trades Hall, Johannesburg, P. O. Box 4,179.

AUSTRALIA

The Commonwealth of Australia consists of a Federation of the six original Australian Colonies: New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, Western Australia, and Tasmania. On September 1, 1906, the territory of Papua (or New Guinea) was transferred to the Commonwealth and the Northern Territory of South Australia on December 7, 1907. On October 18, 1909, the State of New South Wales transferred to the Commonwealth an area of 912 square miles as the seat of Government, which has been named Canberra. The Commonwealth is a self-governing Dominion under the British crown, and a federal union of six states possessing sovereign rights and their own parliaments. The Commonwealth Parliament has power to legislate only on matters specified in the constitution. In this respect it is like the U. S. Congress in relation to rights of the States. The king is represented in the Commonwealth by a Governor-General and in each of the States by a governor, but they exercise their powers through ministers sitting in and responsible to Parliament. The Commonwealth Parliament consists of a Senate of 36 members, six elected directly by each State, and a House of Representatives of 75 members elected on a population basis. The State Parliaments consist of a legislative council, elected on a basis of property qualification or nominated by the Government, and a Legislative Assembly. Women are entitled to vote at all elections for the Commonwealth Parliament and the Legislative Assemblies.

Australia is the only country where the workers have been able to become politically strong enough to control and carry on the government. This has been the achievement of the *Labor Party*, which is the political organization created by the trade-union movement. The Labor Party, without any formal adherence to Socialist doctrine and practically untouched by Marxian philosophy, has developed a genuine class-consciousness and fought so successfully for the overthrow of capitalist rule, that it has driven all anti-labor and "anti-Socialist" parties to unite for self-preservation under the name of Liberal. There are, thus, practically only two parties, Labor and Liberal, the middle-class radicals and progressive groups having been eliminated in 1909. Recently there have been attempts to form new progressive and "national democratic" parties, but with very little success. The watchword of the Australian political movement which crystallises its policy of "no compromise" is "Either for or against Labor."

Ever since the gold discoveries of 1851 the Australian workers have been independent and self-reliant. The attempt to overthrow the government in 1855, though ending in defeat at the so-called battle of the Eureka Stockade, helped to engender a

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rebellious spirit among the workers and in time infused the opposition to the ruling classes. As early as 1859 a working-class representative, Charles Jardine Don, was elected to the Victorian Legislative Assembly. From 1851 to 1891 there were a few other Labor representatives in the different parliaments, but the workers exercised their influence through the existing progressive and democratic parties, which were thoroughly radical according to the ideas of the time. It was not until the Great Strike of 1890, in which after a bitter struggle the workers were defeated, that steps were taken to organize the political Labor Party of to-day. In 1891, 24 Labor candidates were elected to the New South Wales Legislative Assembly, and from this time on the Labor Party, as an independent and uncompromising political force, has grown. For various periods in nearly all the state parliaments the party has had a majority and has been able to form cabinets to carry on the government. Many valuable reforms for the benefit of the workers have been enacted and considerable advances made towards public ownership.

The eight-hour day is practically universal throughout Australia. Hours are also reduced by laws for weekly half-holiday and early closing (usually 6 P.M.) of stores and retail establishments. In some trades the construing of the eight-hour principle or the half-holiday law has led to a working week of 44 hours. In certain trades, such as rock-chopping (i.e. excavating) deemed to be injurious, the working-week has been fixed at 36 hours. Hours, wages and other conditions are largely regulated by the various federal and state systems of arbitration and wage boards. All those systems have not worked equally well, but on the whole, subject to amendments, there is no desire on the part of the workers to abolish the system, and abolition of arbitration has no place in any Labor Party program. There has been great advancement in factory legislation, workmen's compensation, and other branches of labor and social reform. Old age and invalidity pensions, the maternity bonus and improvement of the educational system are other results of the workers' movement.

Practically all the railroads, the entire telegraph and telephone system, a Commonwealth shipping line, a Commonwealth Bank, State savings and agricultural banks, street cars in the large cities, butcher shops, fish markets, and bakeries — are some of the state activities in Australia. Nowhere is the tendency towards the elimination of the private capitalist greater than in Australia. Heavy income taxes on large incomes and great land holdings further testify to the fact that the capitalists of Australia do not have things all their own way.

That the Australian Labor Party stands still to-day for a "white Australia" and so excludes the colored races, is defended by the Labor Party men with "the necessity of preserving the comparatively high standard of living." They claim that this

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policy is necessary as a measure of economic self-defense and insist "that employers would, if they could, flood Australia with the cheapest and least easily assimilable laborers from China, India, and other undeveloped countries." That the Labor Party of Australia is to some extent under the influence of nationalist ideas is shown by its adherence to the policy of national defense. More than that, the party has been largely responsible for the building up of an Australian navy and a citizen defense force, which is based upon a system of compulsory training. The claim is made that this army is a thoroughly democratic army and further, that the nationalistic policy originated in opposition to British Imperialism and the hearty desire to see Australia a fully independent country.

Until 1909 there were in the Commonwealth Parliament three parties: the Conservative, or Anti-Socialists, who were the original Free Trade opposition when Australia was federated in 1901, the Liberal-Protectionists, a middle class progressive party, and the Labor Party. No party had a majority over the other two, and during the greater part of the period from 1901 to 1909 the Liberal-Protectionists carried on the Government with the support of the votes of the Labor Party. More than once the Liberals invited their Labor supporters to form a coalition, but the party refused to sacrifice its independence, despite the efforts of J. C. Watson, the first leader of the Australian Labor Party.

The growth of the Labor Party has been phenomenally rapid. The following statistics show how the number of Labor representatives increased from year to year.

FEDERAL PARLIAMENT

<i>Year</i>	<i>Labor</i>		<i>Anti-Labor</i>	
	<i>Senate</i>	<i>House</i>	<i>Senate</i>	<i>House</i>
1901	8	16	26	59
1903	14	25	22	50
1906	15	26	21	49
1910	23	42	13	33
1913	29	37	7	38
1914	31	40	5	35
1916 (split in party)	20	26	16	49
1917	12	22	24	53

In October, 1916, the party split over the conscription issue. Leading parliamentary representatives, including Hughes and Holman, were expelled and in the Commonwealth and several states the deserters coalesced with the Anti-Labor party. The number of the men who left or were expelled was eleven in the Senate and thirteen in the House of Representatives.

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In 1913 the voting was —	for labor	1,004,000;	Anti-Labor	837,000
" 1914 " " " — " "		1,040,000;	" "	993,000
" 1917 " " " — " "		947,605;	" "	1,198,510

In the year 1914 Labor reached the high water mark in Australia. Every state excepting Victoria had a Labor government, while Labor was in charge of the Federal Government. In turn Western Australia and Tasmania lost at elections, while in New South Wales and South Australia defections over the conscription issue put Anti-Labor governments in power. Thus at the time of writing as far as the state governments are concerned, the only state with the Labor Party in power is Queensland, where there has been no split.

Following the 1914 election, the Commonwealth administration was again carried on by Labor under the guidance of Andrew Fisher, as Prime Minister, for the third time. Toward the end of 1915 he retired to become Australia's High Commissioner in London and was succeeded by the Attorney-General, W. M. Hughes.

The nationalistic trend of the Labor Party has already been mentioned. At the outbreak of the war, the Government at once placed the resources of Australia at the disposal of the "Mother Country." The Australian fleet was placed under the British Admiralty and an army was raised by voluntary enlistment. Up to the time of writing, over 360,000 men have volunteered. The Socialists of Australia, although in a minority, protested against Australia's support of British Imperialism. Mainly because of this, the Commonwealth Government passed a War Precautions Act. This act gave the Government unlimited powers in every direction. While it curtailed the operations of trusts, it also stifled the voice of democracy. In the latter direction, while the censorship imposed under the act was intended only to deal with military matters, it resolved itself finally into a censorship of political opinions. The socialist newspapers suffered bitterly under this regime, while free speech was prohibited everywhere. Clashes with the police and the military were frequent, especially at peace meetings; though of late peace gatherings have gained such support that it has been thought injudicious to suppress them.

The split in the Labor Party originated in the visit of Prime Minister Hughes to Great Britain. There, early in 1916, he astounded the public by his extraordinary anti-German oratory. He became the idol of the British Imperialists, who tried earnestly to keep him in England to help the Government to win the war. But he returned to Australia convinced that nothing but conscription would save the Commonwealth from becoming a German dependency. But the anti-militarist opposition in the Labor Party had been defining itself more clearly, and Hughes's

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design to pass a conscription law without consulting the people was frustrated. A small section, consisting mostly of parliamentary representatives headed by Hughes, carried on a vigorous patriotic and conscriptionist propaganda, in the face of the opposition of the rank and file of the party. The threatened split was for the time avoided by the agreement to submit the question to a national referendum which took place in October, 1916. The result was: For conscription, 1,034,918; against, 1,145,198; majority against, 61,280. Hughes and all the state Labor governments, with the exception of that in Queensland, joined the conscriptionists in the pro-war campaign. In the three largest states, New South Wales, Victoria and Queensland, the party officially opposed conscription, and thus matters reached a crisis. At a conference of the N. S. W. Labor Party it was decided to expel all members who defied the official policy. This included Hughes, who was a representative from N. S. W., and several other prominent Labor leaders and members of the Commonwealth and N. S. W. parliaments.

It was expected that Hughes and the conscriptionists in the Labor Party would have accepted the people's verdict as an excellent excuse for dropping an unpopular policy, but Hughes, unwilling to admit defeat, persisted in his defiance of the party and after long drawn-out negotiations with the political representatives of the interests he had denounced throughout a splendid career of more than 25 years, he formed a coalition with the Liberals. Although at the head of the new so-called National Government it was obvious from the beginning that the control of the Commonwealth had once more passed into the hands of the capitalists. Now under the leadership of Frank Tudor, who had resigned from the Cabinet, the Labor Party, purged of its militarist elements, became once more a minority in the House of Representatives, but in the Senate it still had a majority, and so was able to obstruct the business of the new Government.

In New South Wales Holman, no longer a Labor Representative, formed a coalition, or "National," Government with the Liberals, thus leaving the Labor Party there also in a minority and no longer able to control the Government.

As the term of the Commonwealth Parliament was to expire in September, 1917, the Government decided to hold a general election without delay in the hope of acquiring a majority. This took place on May 5 and resulted in the victory of the coalition forces. The Labor Party polled 47, and the Conservative-Liberal-Labor-militaristic element 53 per cent. of the total vote. It appears that while the soldiers in the European trenches voted against conscription by a strong majority in the referendum of October, 1916, at the general election they voted against the Labor Party. The Labor forces are, as proven by this election, alone almost as strong as all the other elements together.

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The membership of the trades unions has increased from year to year. Indeed, it can be said that their increase has been phenomenal. Content until recently with craft unions, the tendency to-day is along the lines of industrial unionism. The increase in the membership of the trade unions is shown below.

<i>Members</i>		<i>Members</i>	
1894	55,348	1912	433,224
1900	84,231	1913	497,925
1906	175,529	1914	523,271
1910	302,119	1915	528,031
1911	364,732	1916	519,689

The decrease for 1916 is partly accounted for by the large number of unionists among the 360,000 men of the Australian army abroad.

The principal newspapers are:

The Australian Worker, Sydney (weekly);

The Queensland Worker, Brisbane (weekly);

The Labor Call, Melbourne (weekly);

The Daily Herald, Adelaide (daily);

The Daily Post, Hobart (daily).

The headquarters of the various political and economic organizations in Australia are:

New South Wales Labor Movement—Industrial, Trades Hall, Sydney; Political, MacDonnell House, Pitt St., Sydney.

Victoria—Trades Hall, Melbourne, Vic.

Queensland—Trades Hall, Brisbane, Q.

South Australia—United Trades and Labor Council, Adelaide, S. A.

Western Australia—Trades Hall, Perth, W. A.

Tasmania—Trades Hall, Hobart, Tas.

NEW ZEALAND

New Zealand is a self-governing Dominion under British Crown. The Government is vested in a Governor-General, representing the King, acting by and with the advice of ministers responsible to Parliament, of which they must be members. Parliament consists of two Houses; a Legislative Council, at present nominated by the Government, but to be elected after 1920 or 1921, and a House of Representatives, consisting of eighty members elected on a thoroughly democratic one-adult-one-vote franchise.

For something like a third of a century New Zealand was the most advanced country in the world from the standpoint of progressivism and bourgeois Socialism. But about the time of the outbreak of the war there were already signs of reaction, and the famous "Social laboratory" was ceasing to work at the same high pitch of enthusiasm. With the bringing into operation of the conscription law on August 1, 1916, it may be said that New Zealand democracy was temporarily extinguished, for the working-class no longer exercised the political influence it did during

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the period of progressive legislation and social reform which began in 1890 and continued under the successive premierships of Battance, Seddon and Ward. Soon after the war broke out, the Conservatives led by Sir W. F. Massey returned to power, and when they swallowed up the Liberals, led by Ward, the fusion of forces made Labor a negligible factor in politics, and the only possible opposition to an ultra-imperialistic government was destroyed.

New Zealand has always been the most "loyal" of the British self-governing colonies. It has never given evidence of a desire for national independence, such as has always been a minor tendency in Australia. Seddon, the great democratic leader, was always "loyal to the empire" and to the "Mother Country." New Zealand sent troops to help the British mine-owners conquer the South African republic; it has contributed battleships to the British fleet, and supported proposals at imperial conferences in London which aimed at destroying liberalism and radicalism in Great Britain. The workers, who looked upon Seddon as their idol, had no international ideas, and though bold experiments in State Socialism were made, the labor movement remained bourgeois and for over thirty years made practically no effort to break up the Liberal-Labor Alliance of which it formed part. Seddon's successor, Sir Joseph Ward, was an equally great imperialist and jingo, but far less of a democrat and "friend of the workingman," since the original party he represented received its strength from the small farmers as well as the industrial workers, and State Socialism has been making the farmers prosperous and unmindful of the workers who had helped them to get what they wanted in state aid. The wealth produced by New Zealand consists mainly of foodstuffs and raw materials, and its industrial establishments are for the most part connected with sheep-raising, agriculture, and mining. Agrarian interests are by far the most important.

The original political division was that between the small farmers and workmen who wished to become farmers on the one hand and on the other the great land monopolists. New Zealand's State Socialism was brought about by the alliance of small farmers and industrial workers, with a decided balance in favor of the farmer. The great hindrance to the development of the colony was the holding of land in large estates, which Battance and Seddon strove to break up into small farms. New Zealand radicals borrowed the single-tax ideas of Henry George and the Government initiated a policy of compulsory purchase of land and reselling it in smaller farm holdings under an easy system of deferred payments. Further aid was given to this new farmer class by means of rural credits. The railways were completely nationalized to prevent exploitation; and through the Department of Agriculture and other channels every possible method

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was employed to make farming a profitable business. The plan succeeded, and the New Zealand farmer to-day enjoys benefits which in the United States would seem incredible.

The industrial workers, however, were not left entirely out in the cold. A democratic franchise, votes for women, old-age pensions, assistance to widowed mothers, and laws for the protection and safety of workers in factories and stores were enacted. Labor unions were placed on a firm basis under the law, and State activity extended in many directions the idea that private enterprise must be subordinated to social welfare. The greatest experiment in legislation was the establishment of a system of compulsory arbitration, and though the workers gained considerable improvements in wages, hours and working conditions, they have more than once found it necessary to revolt against the system. In the more recent industrial development of New Zealand the workers have come to realize more and more that there cannot be any community of interest between them and their employers.

Politically, also, the workers began to wake up. Finding that they could no longer depend upon the Liberals, they at last organized a separate political party. The year 1912 marks the beginning of the movement, but it was not until June, 1916, that the organization was completed at a joint conference of the United Federation of Labor, the Social Democratic Party, and the Labor Representation Committee. From this conference emerged the *New Zealand Labor Party* with a definitely Socialist standpoint and objective. The new party has not yet had an opportunity of making itself felt in Parliament, where there is at present practically no opposition to the capitalistic combination under Massey and Ward, which—under the pretext of war necessity, but really because it fears the strength of the Labor Party—has extended the term for which Parliament was elected.

The rise of the Labor Party on one side and the fusion of Conservatives and Liberals on the other are indications that the realignment of parties is now complete, and that political issues will henceforth be on the lines of the class struggle. Repressive measures inspired by "patriotism" at present make Socialist propaganda difficult to carry on, and it seems that until the end of the war, the Massey-Ward administration will pursue its militarist and "loyal to the Mother Country" policy with unabated vigor. A number of Labor leaders are at present in prison for so-called seditious utterances. Although New Zealand's population is only about 1,000,000 and although over 80,000 men have been sent abroad to fight, Sir James Allen, Minister of Defence, recently said in Parliament that it would be criminal for New Zealand to slacken its efforts to supply men for the war.

The war has slightly affected the membership of the trade-

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unions, but the progress of organized labor in recent years is shown by the increase of 261 unions with 29,869 members in 1905 to 403 unions with 73,991 members in 1914.

The principal labor newspaper is *The Maoriland Worker*, while the central organizations of the political and industrial movements have headquarters at Wellington, the capital of the Dominion.

NOTES ON THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT ABROAD

War has not affected co-operation unfavorably in either the neutral or the belligerent foreign countries. In spite of the actual destruction of raw material, the strict rationing of food and general governmental interference, the difficulties of transportation, and all the chaotic conditions of contemporary European life, the co-operative societies almost universally show a very considerable increase in members, turnovers, and profits. The Vooruit and credit societies of Belgium, even, are no exception; nor is Poland; while the growth of the Russian movement, which now includes, counting the families of members, one-third of the total population of Russia, is simply phenomenal. Indeed, so successful has the Co-operative movement been in keeping down the price of food and keeping up the morale of the people that all the governments, except the English, recognize it as a national force. Consequently, in Switzerland and certain other countries, the restrictions under which the movement suffered before the war were removed.

The co-operatives in most countries are not content with being merely national forces. The English and New Zealand movements, at least, are international in their trade relations. The French co-operatives were treated as places of hostage by the invading Germans. The Co-operative movement is in close relationship with the general organized labor movement and aims at the abolition of the profit-system. It is also internationalistic in attitude. One illustration of its internationalism in practice is the fact that the international Co-operative Alliance is managing to keep in close and sympathetic touch with the movement in all countries.

The Co-operative movement in Belgium and the Scandinavian countries is closely allied with the Socialist and labor movements. The same is becoming true of co-operatives in other countries.

The International Co-operative Alliance claims a membership in the affiliated national co-operative organization of 200,000,000.

AUSTRIA

In Austria, the growth of co-operation since the beginning of the war has been great. The most important direction this

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has taken is in the development of the Wholesale. The necessities of the situation has led to the union of many interests for more efficient distribution. The war ministry worked with the labor unions in the distribution of food, and the unions combined with the co-operatives to further this end. Together, they organized a new union, "The Victualling Union." Employers of labor also belong to this association. The Wholesale does the most important part of the work. 400 industries are affiliated, with 200,000 workers. The Union, according to latest reports, provides for 575,000 persons in Vienna, or a third of the whole population. The large industrial plants have provided distributing centers; while the smaller use the co-operatives. Some districts have organized their distribution of supplies in connection with the co-operatives, others, like Trieste, favor private trade; Aussig has a municipal trade system. The Wholesale gets goods direct from imperial centers on the card system for corn, sugar, fats, and coffee. In Southern Austria, 1,000,000 war workers draw supplies from co-operatives in this way.

The Austrian Co-operative movement showed its first decrease in 1914. The Wholesale in 1915 had a trade of \$35,000,000—an increase of about \$4,000,000. It did this, despite the withdrawal of certain goods from the market by the government and the scarcity of food. The net profits were \$130,000.

In 1916 there were 14,568 new associations, bringing the total number of co-operatives up to 19,296. Of these 12,380 are loan; 1,433 distributive; 3,548 agricultural; 1,286 artisan; 592 building; and 57 miscellaneous co-operatives.

Three hundred seventy-nine loan associations have granted credit to the amount of \$687,000,000. The distributive co-operative associations have increased their membership from 10,742 to 141,407. Their total capital in 1916 was \$85,000,000; their net profit \$5,000,000.

The first Vienna Distributive Co-operative supplied in 1916 1/3 more bread, sugar, and potatoes than usual. They had to limit the sale of various commodities and restrict the number of new members. The society fed daily 250 children and 130 unemployed with dinner. It distributed \$100,000 to its 1,110 employees, and \$1,600,000 in dividends to its 60,094 members.

BELGIUM

The Co-operative movement in Belgium has fortunately not suffered as much as might have been feared. Far from being wiped out, the movement has thrived. The Vooruit, the pioneer society of Belgium, reports that during the first year of war there was a membership increase of 1,401, bringing the total membership up to 10,642. There was a turnover of \$1,130,000, an

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increase over the last year of peace of \$305,000. In fact, such was the success of the movement that a new Festival Palace was opened in January, 1915, five months after the beginning of the war. A sum of \$54,000 was added in 1915 to the provident funds for members and employees. These funds include emergency funds, sick and maternity benefits, old age pensions, employee's disablements funds, sums to be expended for science and art in connection with the Festival Palace, and grants to be made to workingclass students.

The "Boerenbond," or Peasants' League, has been able to continue its activities in spite of the German occupation. Moreover, it has added new ones. Four new agricultural syndicates have been formed. The most arduous task of the "Boerenbond" consists in aiding and assisting the peasantry ruined by the invasion. In February, 1916, the "Commission Central d'Economie Alimentaire" was founded in Brussels, which in its turn founded sections in the provinces. From the beginning, the "Ligue des Fermieres," or League of Farmers' Wives, was represented on this commission. The dairy inspection service had to restrict its activities to the provinces of Antwerp, Brabant, and Limbourg, where there are still 78 co-operative dairies at work, only 7 less than at the beginning of the war. In the 61 dairies for which we have exact data, the falling off of members is 10%, the number of registered cows is 16% less than in 1913, and the cows give less milk, a natural consequence of the lack of concentrated cattle-foods. One of the most active branches of the "Boerenbond" is the "Caisse Central de Credit," and one of its most active years was 1915. There were 44 more affiliated local "caisses" and hundreds of new small loans were made to farmers in need. 437 rural credit societies were affiliated with the Central Caisse in 1915. There were in existence 821. The capital of the Central Credit Society in 1915 was \$2,000,000, the turnover \$12,000,000, much more than in normal years. Without the credit unions, the farmers could not have procured the necessary fertilizers for their fields nor the concentrated food for their cattle. The different insurance services have also done a large amount of business; and the premiums paid and the sum of the insured capital have, likewise, increased. Thus the "Boerenbonds" had bravely and energetically fought to help the rural population and keep up the economic morale of its members and of rural Belgium.

DENMARK

The Co-operative movement started with the farmers in Denmark. In 1914 there were 1,503 dairies, with 6,208 employees. Later it was taken to the cities by the Socialists. They began with a large bakery in Copenhagen and now own real estate

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and machinery to the value of \$780,000. The Star Brewery at Copenhagen, worth \$1,700,000, is another co-operative establishment. In 1916, the Danish Co-operative Coal Export Company, had a membership of 665 societies, a turnover of \$230,000,000, and a \$670,000 capital. It acquired 41 steamers and 7 sailing vessels. The Co-operative Wholesale Society was founded in 1895 with a small office and a staff of two or three persons. It now owns a magnificent building worth \$6,000,000 and employs some 1,300 people. In 1915 it had 1,500 affiliated societies and 232,000 individual members. Its total turnover was \$86,000,000; its profit \$6,000,000, an increase of \$1,000,000. The value of its co-operative production was \$20,500,000 and it paid a dividend of 7%. The total trade of the Danish Co-operative Union was \$900,000,000 in 1913, \$950,000,000 in 1914 and \$1,200,000,000 in 1915. The agricultural purchasing associations turned over \$1,210,000,000; consumer's \$150,000,000; insurance \$5,000,000; and co-operative banks \$3,000,000. The profits of these undertakings are in the main turned over to the Social Democratic Party for agitation work.

FINLAND

Many members of the present government in Finland have been active co-operators. The Minister of Finance, Senator Vaino Tanner, was for many years President of the Finnish Co-operative Wholesale. The Chairman of the Inland Department was a member of the Wholesale board. The Chairman of the Board of Trade and his deputy are both members of co-operative boards. The Minister of Agriculture is the president of a co-operative dairy. In fact, nearly all the members of the government belong to one or another of the co-operative enterprises. In 1916, the movement obtained its first estate, valued at \$190,000. Match and brush factories are to move there; and preserving plants, brick foundries and box factories are being planned. In 1915 there were 431 co-operative societies and 980 shops with a membership of 110,800; in 1916, 486 societies, 1,257 shops and 181,700 members. The sales in 1915 were \$8,312,000, an increase of 45% over the previous year; in 1916, the sales were doubled. The net profit in 1915 was \$900,000; in 1916, \$2,000,000. The capital was likewise two million dollars in 1915; while in 1916 it had increased to \$2,750,000. Most of the profits have been allocated to the capital, which brings it up to about four million dollars now. The turnover of the Co-operative Wholesale in 1916 was \$17,000,000 — twice that of the year before. It no longer supplies non-members.

FRANCE

In France, the invaded region contained the most successful part of the movement. It had many co-operative stores, about

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which little is now known. Just prior to the invasion an alliance had been made between the two rival federations, and the French movement promised rapid development. With the war, the federation made itself the representative of the interests of all consumers. It assisted the state and the municipalities. It was given complete charge of the distribution of frozen meats. It took over hundreds of Maggi milk stations. It established co-operative distribution in the trenches themselves, using motor-lorries at the front fitted out as food shops. It opened co-operative restaurants for war workers; opened municipal kitchens under co-operative control selling meat at 20% to 25% below current market rates; created work shops for the unemployed, distributed relief, regulated the distribution of scarce commodities, and published warnings of scarcity. From February to December, 1916, the federation opened 28 frozen meat stores in Paris and 15 in the environs. The sales during this period amounted to \$6,500,000 with net profits of \$700,000. Co-operative drug stores have been opened. The work of the National and District unions has very greatly increased. In Lyons, for instance, at least 15 new co-operatives have been started. Co-operative advertisements appear in the daily press. Moreover, French societies in general, have prevented the rise of prices and assisted in fixing maximum prices. Finally, co-operative societies have been almost universally, places of hostage. The French government, recognizing these services of the co-operative organizations, has recently passed laws favorable to them; and the Chamber of Deputies has granted them a credit of \$400,000.

GERMANY

The Central Union of the German Distributive Societies included 1,109 co-operatives in 1914; 1,079 in 1915; and 1,977 in 1916. A constant decrease is to be observed in the total number of the distributive societies. The diminution is due to the fact that German co-operators tend to amalgamate the smaller societies with the larger ones, and thus form sectional organizations capable of more efficient work. There was a total increase of individual members in the first war-year of 130,000; in the second of over 200,000, making a membership of 2,052,139. The Central Union has effected tariff agreements with two trade-unions: the bakers' and the transport-workers'. The agreements are in respect to the wage and labor conditions of the bakers and transport-workers employed in co-operative enterprises. Differences arising in connection with this agreement are submitted to the tariff-board of the Central Union, which is composed of five co-operative and five trade unionist members. Agreements also exist between distributive societies and the trade-unions of shop assistants, tobacco-workers, butchers, factory and mill hands.

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The "Volksfuersorge," the Trade-unionist Co-operative Insurance Co., is the result of the equal collaboration of the Central Union with the German trade union movement. Its purpose is to grant either temporary or permanent relief to the members of trade unions and co-operative societies in the case of old age, to give assistance to their dependents, and also to provide means for the care of the children in case of the member's death.

The Imperial Union of German Distributive Societies at Mulheim made considerable progress during 1916. The number of affiliated societies increased from 191 to 235. The number of membership increased from 190,000 to 286,000. The society employed 2,130 persons in 1915; in 1916 2,528. Net profits amounted to \$430,000, in addition to which \$750,000 dividends was paid to members. The trade done by societies affiliated with the Imperial Union grew from \$15,000,000 in 1915 to \$20,000,000 in 1916. The wholesale department of the Union, on the other hand, suffered severely—the sales falling from \$2,600,000 in 1915 to \$1,900,000 in 1916. It is already equipping itself, however, for the return of peace, having purchased a large plot of ground at Neuss-Rhein on which it intends to rear administrative buildings, factories and a central warehouse.

The Co-operative Wholesale Society, Ltd., had 849 members in 1915 and 874 in 1916. It has had the same experience as the wholesale department of the Imperial Union. Its turnover in 1915 was \$38,200,000 and in 1916, \$33,500,000, a decrease of \$4,700,000, or 12¼%. The cause of this decrease was the passing of the trade in the necessities of life into the hands of the Imperial War Boards.

The Industrial and Provident societies in 1915 were 36,398 in number. This was an increase of 366. There were 603 new, 203 dissolved and 38 bankrupt. The artisan co-operatives were 1,347, an increase of 254; the credit, 19,761, an increase of 61; building, 1,399, a decrease of 3; agricultural raw materials and sales 3,230, an increase of 63; agricultural, productive and artisan labor, 5,946, an increase of 16; cattle rearing, 401, an increase of 5. There were 170 new supply associations, 54 of which were saddlery and paper hanging associations; 38 tailoring; 31 locksmiths and smiths; 22 joinery. In 1915 there were 1,079 distributive societies, with a membership of 1,850,000; in 1916, 2,300, with a membership of 2,200,000. In 1915, the turnover was \$123,400,000 and the savings account, \$21,300,000. In 1916, the turn-over was \$144,300,000, and the savings \$23,600,000.

Notwithstanding the circumstances of the war, there has been a very considerable increase in the co-operative production of goods. In the last year of peace, they amounted to \$26,500,000; in the first year of war, \$30,000,000; the second, \$36,000,000. The large co-operative bakeries take the foremost place in this

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branch of activity. The war has treated them unfavorably, largely through the prohibition of night work and the rationing of flour and bread. Production in the factories of the German Wholesale has increased from \$3,000,000 in 1914 to \$5,000,000 in 1915 and \$7,000,000 in 1916. There was this increase in the production of the Wholesale despite the fact that the advantage of buying wholesale disappeared when the authorities limited the supply of provisions and fixed prices, favoring the producer somewhat but detrimental to the retailer whose return just covered expenses. The government supply centers furnish the maximum and minimum quantities at the same price to private traders as to the co-operative societies. This puts the co-operative societies at a disadvantage as the private dealer can make use of his family while the co-operative must adhere to the conditions of the wage board and also disburse a certain amount for the support of men at the front. The government has not been hostile, though. In Hamburg there had been a tax of 8% of sales. This governmental persecution vanished with the arrival of the war.

The 15th Congress of the Central Union of German Distributive Societies representing 415 co-operative organizations, met at Nürnberg June 18-19, 1917, with 913 delegates present. The mutual aid of the trade unions and the co-operatives and the world-wide growth of the movement during the war were favorably commented upon; the hostile attitude of the authorities and the fact that the Co-operative Wholesale Society had been virtually excluded from the distribution of goods were censured. The sympathy of German co-operators was extended toward all who wanted to put an end to "this wholesale murder" and "continued destruction of the work of civilization" which the war entailed.

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

According to the 1917 diary of the Co-operative Wholesale Society, Ltd., of England, it now owns and operates 3 steamships, 5 Irish and 14 foreign and continental depots, 8 flour mills, 3 printing works, 2 canneries, 2 farms with an acreage of 1,467 and 65 factories. The total of sales since the society was started in March, 1864, is \$2,926,987,045.75, and its total profit \$53,948,702.16. In September, 1916, there were 28,818 employees, an increase of 865 over the 27,953 of the previous year; \$34,574,845.45 was the sum of its imports during the year. Its trade, 1916 was \$261,150,000, an increase of \$45,650,000 or 21% over the \$215,500,000 of 1915. 1,195 societies representing an individual membership of 2,586,859 are now stockholders (this is an increase of 50,887 over the 2,535,972 individual members of 1915) while 12,176 societies are supplied with goods. It has depots in Denmark, Sweden, Spain, and the United States; tea plantations in

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Ceylon, cornfields in Canada, and land in West Africa. The Russian co-operatives need wool, clothes, boots, shoes, tea and coffee; and are in a position to exchange for them corn, meat, eggs and butter. Consequently, the C. W. S. is planning to establish depots in Russia in close touch with Russian co-operatives.

At the 47th annual Co-operative Congress, convened in Leicester on May 24, 1915, over 1,500 delegates were present to represent the 1,284 societies affiliated with the Co-operative Union. It was reported that over 176,500 new members had been enrolled by local societies, bringing the total number of British co-operators up to over 3,150,000—comprising, with the families of the members, little under a quarter of the whole population of Great Britain. The trade of the societies for the year was almost \$700,000,000, an increase of \$42,000,000 over the previous year. The profits for 1914 were \$76,000,000, an increase of nearly \$5,000,000 over the previous year. The increase of share capital was over \$11,000,000. These increases were out of all proportion greater than the pre-war increases. It was also reported that the problem of gaining a wider control of raw material is being energetically pushed. The International Co-operative Alliance reported that it had raised funds for the relief of helpless German and Austrian women stranded in Great Britain after the outbreak of the war. As a result of this effort, the German co-operators were looking after helpless English and French people in Germany.

At the 48th annual Congress, convened in Swansea on May 28, 1916, it was reported that previous to the war, \$15,000,000 had been set apart by certain private trading companies to combat the movement, that this sum had been tripled since the war, and that "these forces are using their well-organized machinery, both in the House of Commons and outside, to cripple the movement."

The Co-operative Wholesale Society, Ltd., reports that the total sales for the half-year ended June 23, 1917, amounted to \$147,974,755. This was an increase of 19½% on the corresponding period of last year. The total supplies from the various productive works were \$48,568,255, an increase of 27½%. The disposable profit in the trade department for this period is \$3,102,040. There was \$755,395 war bonus on wages; and an excess profits duty of \$1,397,615. The half-year's deposits and withdrawals in the banking department amounted to \$822,852,755, an increase of about 22% and there was a profit of \$147,320.

SCOTLAND

The Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society, Ltd., has 9,846 employees. Its turnover for 1916 was \$72,495,185; its total capital, \$22,782,955; its reserve and insurance funds \$4,843,365;

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and the value of the goods it manufactured during 1916 was \$23,540,520. The net sales for the first half of 1917 were \$42,157,205, an increase of \$9,256,190 or 28.1% over the same period of last year. The value of the goods produced, including the direct sale of by-products, was \$15,653,800, an increase of \$4,782,740, equal to 44%. The net surplus for the six months was \$1,407,245, of which \$944,445 is to be returned to members as dividend on purchases, and the reserve is to get \$87,825. The trade for the twelve months which ended on June 30th amounted to about \$81,800,000, which means that the S. C. W. S. has practically doubled its sales since 1912. Some idea of the success of the Co-operative movement in Scotland may be had from the fact that one whole county, that of Clackmannon, has more members of co-operatives than it has households.

HOLLAND

The Netherlands Co-operative Union separated from the Wholesale on the first of January, 1916, because it did not wish to be held legally responsible for resolutions of the Wholesale and the workers' co-operatives, which are not neutral in politics. In 1915, 38 new associations affiliated with the Union. The turnover of the Union was \$1,500,000 in 1914; in 1915, it was \$1,850,000. The membership in 1914 was 26,695; in 1915 it was 29,084. The Union publishes an organ with a circulation of 2,000 copies. The circulation of its *Year Book* is 12,000. There were distributed 70,000 copies of its last pamphlet. It is supported by subscriptions which amounted to \$2,250 for 1917 plus a share of the profits of the wholesale—i.e., 10% of each central union. There was \$18,500 from this source in 1916. It gives annual examinations to trained officials in co-operative work. In 1915, it granted diplomas to 90 candidates in General Co-operative Knowledge, Co-operative History, and Co-operative Laws.

The Socialists now have a union of their own; and the Wholesale is growing more and more as the real co-operative center. The turn-over of the Wholesale in 1915 was \$2,400,000. 178 associations and 120,000 individuals belonged to it. In 1916, the trade was \$3,580,000—an increase of \$1,180,000. New societies are joining it daily until now it includes nearly all the distributive co-operatives in Holland. In 1915, there were 350 co-operative bakeries and stores in Holland, with 2,800,000 members. These had a trade of \$2,000,000 in 1914; and in 1915 of \$2,500,000. The Wholesale has recently secured possession of a building in Rotterdam. Its trade now amounts to \$3,500,000.

At the Hague, co-operatives are able to undersell the price fixed by the city on bread. They supply shortage to one another. But they are not as yet strong enough to curb speculating trusts. It is significant to note, incidentally, that the Bel-

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gian refugees in the camp of Gasterland in Holland have organized a co-operative society.

HUNGARY

The Hungarian Wholesale Society recorded very successful results during 1916, though the distribution of goods suffered, owing to shortage of commodities and difficulties of transport. It established three new warehouses in provincial towns a limited liability company, which erected several factories, a corn mill, a distillery, etc. Furthermore, it has placed over a million dollars at the disposal of the government for the establishment of a University of Political Economy in Budapest. The number of societies affiliated with it in 1915 was 1,386, comprising 300,000 families. In 1916—82 new distributive societies joined it. Its turnover was \$36,000,000 in 1914; \$55,000,000 in 1915; and \$68,000,000 in 1916. In 1916 it paid back a dividend of \$1,900,000 to its members, a sum which otherwise would have gone into the pockets of middle men.

ITALY

The statistics for 1914 from the *Italian Co-operative Year Book*, published toward the end of 1916, gave the number of co-operatives, excluding credit unions, as 7,429. Of these, 2,408 were distributive, 3,022 productive, 752 building, 1,142 agricultural, and 105 insurance. All except insurance had increased considerably, especially building. The total membership of these societies was about 1,300,000; the total capital \$30,000,000 approximately; the trade \$130,000,000; and the net profits \$2,000,000. The trade of the distributive co-operatives was \$31,000,000; the building, \$23,000,000; agricultural, \$42,000,000; and productive and work, \$32,000,000. The largest number of consumers' societies were in Lombardy. Sicilian agricultural co-operation had done wonders in freeing the workers from the land owners.

The Wholesale had steadily supplied co-operatives in the war zone with goods. The turnover in 1914 was \$286,000; in 1915, \$500,000. The sales in 1914 were \$46,000; in 1915, over \$200,000. In 1915 the profits were \$4,400; the reserve fund \$870; the provident \$430; and \$220 was devoted to propaganda. It has done much to successfully defend the public against speculators.

The National League of Milan was instrumental in obtaining a governmental grant of \$600,000 for public works and other similar purposes. Its suggestion of the purchase of large supplies of corn was carried out by the government. With other co-operatives, it established a national work committee for collective purchasing and a better organizing of the distribution of goods and war work. It established ten co-operative work shops

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for army clothing and others for machinery and utensils. In 1914 it had 3,009 federated associations. It maintains a bureau for legal advice and is busily working for better co-operative laws and more equitable taxation.

The "Unione Co-operativa" at Milan is a national enterprise fast becoming international. It conducts an active trade with Etruria, Libia, Somalil, Valona, The Ægean Islands, the Italian Colonies in North and Central Africa, Turkey, and Greece. The society records a very striking development during 1916; and, had it not been for the difficulties with the transportation of coal and reduced supply of sugar due to the introduction of the sugar-card-system, the turnover would have been still larger. The amount of sales in 1915 were \$3,000,000; in 1916, \$5,000,000. The large purchase of supplies by the society placed it in a position to effectively influence the regulation of prices. It frequently charged prices below those officially fixed. The increase in sales is partly due to these low prices. The most remarkable increase—\$1,000,000—took place in the supply of provisions. The net profits in 1916 were \$192,000; and the total share capital and reserves of the society were \$3,200,000.

In general, the movement has grown most where the workers are organized and industry and agriculture are best developed. There are reports of a strong anti-war movement among the co-operatives in Southern Italy.

NORWAY

Norway has lost more by the war than either Denmark or Sweden. The increase in the cost of living has been terrible, the increase since the beginning of the war being 33%. Food-stuffs, in particular, are higher in price than in almost any of the other neutral countries. In Germany beef costs \$1.35 a lb.; in Norway, \$2.40. Milk is only three-fourths as expensive in Germany as it is in Norway. The result has been a great growth in the Norwegian Co-operative movement.

In 1916 there were 45 new distributive societies, with an individual membership of 2,800. This brought the society membership of the Union up to 206 and the individual membership up to 42,000. The turnover of the Wholesale was \$7,200,000, a 35% increase over the \$5,350,000 of the previous year. The Wholesale conducts a course of instruction for two or three months in Co-operative Theory and Practice; and grants \$240 to each person admitted to the course. The Faelleskjøb, an agricultural co-operative and central association for agricultural buying, had a turnover in 1915-1916 of \$17,000,000. It has a seed cleaning department, a mill and machinery department and warehouses. Besides, it supports a propaganda society and provides half the expenses for two legal aids.

At the beginning of 1917, the total membership of the so-

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cieties in Christiania where the movement has been recently centralized, amounted to 3,921 and sales to \$1,810,822, an increase of \$360,000 over the previous year. Net profits totaled \$71,456, or about 4% of the turnover. The joint capital amounted to \$134,092; and the reserves to \$24,980. Further, the societies have invested considerable sums in other co-operative enterprises, for example, the Norwegian Co-operative Wholesale Society, the Co-operative Bakery, and the Sausage and Butter factories. They also own two buildings, the value of which is \$114,840. There are 16 stores and 101 employees.

POLAND

In Poland, there are two organizations of considerable importance: the Central Agricultural Society and the Warsaw Union of Consumers' Societies, which was first formed among the artisans but last year began to spread among the farmers. The co-operative credit movement in Poland is of great importance, comprising both farmers and artisans. In addition, the farmers have founded co-operative farms, hen-ranches, corn-houses, building societies, peat societies, and societies for the export of cattle. In 1905, a bureau of information and advice for distributive societies was opened in Warsaw. It now publishes a weekly journal and many excellent propaganda pamphlets.

This bureau is conducted under the auspices of the Union. 285 societies are affiliated with the Union, and 259 societies that are not affiliated maintain relations with it in certain matters, such as auditing. In 1913, the peasants had formed some 1,000 distributive societies, over 600 of which are in close relations with the Union. At the end of 1916, there were more than 1,500 distributive societies in all, with a membership exceeding 120,000. In 1913, the share capital of all societies was \$21,000; the capital of the societies belonging to the Union was \$25,000; and the approximate total capital of all societies was \$210,000.

A co-operative bank was founded in Warsaw in 1910. In 1914, its turnover was \$97,500,000; its capital \$1,000,000. It managed to survive the first half year of the war; but it succumbed at the German occupation of Warsaw.

RUSSIA

The peculiar conditions of the political, social and economic life in Russia are responsible for some overlapping in Co-operative activities. For instance, credit societies which were almost entirely the creation of the old Russian government and consist mostly of peasant landowners, loans being forbidden to members without immovable property, find themselves drawn into the activities of consumers' associations. They take an active

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part in supplying food for the army and are engaged to an ever-increasing degree in establishing various forms of co-operative industrial undertakings.

Before the war Russian co-operation could be likened to a strong youth who was prevented from developing his full power and was kept in submission and dependence. Only about a dozen years ago, in 1905, the total number of co-operative organizations in Russia was 5,709. The figures for 1914, on the eve of the war and the following years, show a really marvellous increase:

	1914	1915	1916	1917
Credit and loan and savings societies.....	12,751	14,350	15,450	16,057
Consumers' societies	10,080	10,900	15,203	20,000
Agricultural co-operative societies and as- sociations	5,000	5,200	5,500	6,000
Artels of Kustari and creameries.....	2,000	2,300	2,600	4,000
	80,881	22,750	39,753	46,057

These figures show that during the three years of war the total number of co-operative societies has increased by 50 per cent., the increase for the individual branches being: Credit societies by 25 per cent.; consumers' societies by 100 per cent.; agricultural societies by 20 per cent.; artels by 33 per cent.

The membership of the whole of the Russian co-operative societies in 1914 was about 9,000,000, and in January, 1917, this figure rose to over 13,000,000, in other words, it increased by 44 per cent.

The agricultural movement is as yet weak. One exception to this is the Union of Siberian Creamery Associations, with a membership in 1916 of 1,000 creameries and 800 consumers' stores, a turnover of about \$37,500,000. There is a large and rapid growth of consumers' societies among the peasantry, due to the high prices usually charged by the village shopkeeper, taking advantage of his monopoly. The drop in prices caused by the appearance of a co-operative is in some provinces from 5% to 40%.

The war has postponed the erection of a Co-operative University and Museum, which had been decided upon by the All Russian Co-operative Congress held in Kiev in 1914 and had been entrusted to the Kharkov Agricultural Society. The Moscow Narodny (People's) Bank, on the other hand, which was determined upon by the same body at its first meeting, has been established; and in 1916 its turnover was \$25,000,000, and its deposits amounted to \$11,000,000, an increase of 600% in a year and a half.

The overthrow of the autocracy and the institution of a republican form of government will greatly aid the Co-operative movement. Many of the members of the present government are active workers in co-operative societies and the movement

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bids fair to grow more rapidly as the various restrictions against the co-operatives are removed.

SPAIN

While the Spanish government has sought to encourage the development of co-operative organizations by legislative measures, the movement failed to take root among the Spanish people until recently. The modern movement dates back to 1887, when a liberal co-operative law was passed, although co-operative associations came into existence in Spain about 1860. In 1897 the Camara Regional of co-operative societies in Catalonia and the Balearic Isles was founded. In 1900 and 1902 the first co-operative congresses were held. About this time, the "Revista Co-operative Catalana," a co-operative periodical, was first issued. In 1906, the total trade done by the Catalanian societies, with 8,000 members, was but \$2,000,000. Then, there were scarcely more than 80 other co-operative organizations in Spain. In 1908, there were 272 co-operative societies, with 60,450 members. Of these, 182 societies were distributive. In 1914, there were 308 distributives, with a membership of 27,947, less than the membership in 1908, a most curious situation. The sales totalled \$2,900,000. Only six of the societies had a membership exceeding 1,000; while that of the large majority of the societies was less than 250.

The Wholesale Society of the Distributive Societies did a trade in 1914 amounting to \$154,582. Agricultural co-operation has grown rapidly and greatly. In the capital is a "Casa del Pueblo," in which the central organizations of the Socialist Party, the labor federation, and the local co-operatives are housed, the latter having a business of several thousand dollars a year. The People's House was originally a ducal palace.

SWEDEN

The Co-operative Union had 128,000 members in 1915. In 1916, 119 associations affiliated with the Union, making the society membership 785, the individual membership 270,000. In January, 1916, the principal co-operative journal in Sweden announced that the wholesale turnover, \$26,500,000, an increase of 34%. The previous year the increase had been 67%. A shortage of goods was the cause of the smaller increase. The trade of the wholesale in 1915 was \$19,800,000. In 1916 it was \$26,400,000, an increase of \$6,600,000 or 25%. The Co-operative movement is closely related to the Socialist Party and a large part of the profits are spent on Socialist propaganda.

SWITZERLAND

The Swiss co-operatives had been so helpful during the war

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that in 1915 the government decided no longer to oppose them, but to use and consult them. Accordingly, among many other demands upon their services, they were allowed representation on the board of arbitration for decision about milk distribution. The Union of Swiss Co-operative Distributive Societies owns a large number of shares in the Bell Meat Co., Ltd., and is financially identified with co-operative societies for the exportation of cheese and eggs. The scarcity of commodities and the increase of prices make it increasingly difficult for the Union; but at the same time they lead to an increased recognition of the power of co-operative association. The society membership of the Union increased by 14 in 1916, bringing the total up to 421. The capital of the Union was \$320,000 in 1915; \$370,000 in 1916. The profit was \$96,000 in 1915; \$125,000 in 1916. In 1915 there was a total turnover of \$10,000,000. The trade of the wholesale branch of the Union increased in 1916 by 50%. In 1915 it was \$10,000,000; in 1916 it was \$15,000,000. The sales of affiliated societies in 1916 are reckoned at about \$30,000,000. It maintains a very active propaganda by means of lectures, pamphlets and periodicals. The circulation of the periodicals issued in 1915 was 8,000,000; in 1916, 8,330,000. In 1916, it bought its first estate, which comprises 95 acres.

The balance and the turnover of the Swiss Raiffeisen Union doubled in the year 1915-16. The balance grew from \$370,000 to \$600,000; the turnover doubled from \$2,000,000 to \$4,000,000. 6 new banks were formed, making a total of 783 banks. The relation of loan capital to bank capital has been steadily improving.

The membership of the Berne Association was 13,111 in 1915. It conducted a model dairy, and dealt in fuel, boots, and shoes from the Wholesale. Its share capital was \$37,000; its savings deposits \$256,000; its turnover \$1,000,000; its profits \$63,000; and its paid-up dividends \$50,000. The Berne Co-operative is but one of many equally important affiliated with the Union of Swiss Distributive Societies opened several new branches during the year and also gave valuable assistance in the working of the municipal provision stores opened by the authorities in the most populous parts of the town. The net profits show a far smaller increase than the turnover, due to the fact that the prices were kept as low as possible for the advantage of the consumers. The net profit for the year was \$200,000.

INDIA

The rapid growth of the Co-operative movement is very striking, considering that it is taking place among a population to whom co-operative ideas are quite foreign. Introduced about twelve years ago, it comprises now 15,000 societies with 744,000

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members, and a working capital of \$25,720,000. The societies weathered local famines and their development will no doubt help solve some of the problems of the government, which favors them. They are largely co-operative credit societies. Their chief service is their instrumentality in freeing the peasantry from the curse of the village money lender, who often charges from 20% to 30%.

ARGENTINA

In Buenos Ayres, the Hogar Abreno, a workingmen's credit, distributive, and building association, had in 1916 a membership of 3,173; a share capital of \$400,000 and paid up capital of \$180,000. The distributing department had 685 purchasing members; a turnover of \$24,000 and a profit of \$3,350. It is growing rapidly and acting more and more as a Wholesale for neighboring co-operatives.

YUCATAN

The Co-operative movement in Yucatan includes all the legalized forms of co-operation and it antedates the sympathetic new Yucatan constitution by at least two years. The Commission Reguladora del Mercado de Henequen, a co-operative association for the marketing of the sisal plant fibre, was the first co-operative. With the advent of the constitutionalist government, it became a state monopoly with the Governor of Yucatan as its president; and all distribution of this fibre must be made through this commission. General Salvador Alvarado is the man responsible for the rest of the co-operative movement in Yucatan. In May, 1917, the railway workers union, with some assistance from the government, commenced the planning of an entire suburb of modern homes with playgrounds, parks, theatres, and stores, right near the railway shops and offices—all, but the individual homes, to be co-operatively conducted. General Alvarado subscribed \$10,000 towards the fund for founding a co-operative in every city, town, and pueblo. They were established in every hamlet, some in conjunction with the Socialist party, others by groups of agricultural workers, still others by groups of industrial workers. Many of these have failed, but a few have survived and are highly successful. The most notable of the co-operative stores are those conducted by the union of railway workers, whose co-operative building schemes have already been mentioned. They commenced with a capital of \$10,000 and opened a store in Merida with a branch in Progreso, the capital and port respectively, of Yucatan. In June, 1917, this capital was increased to \$30,000. In general, all looks well for the future of the Co-operative movement in Yucatan. It will be successful now because it has learned the scientific rock bottom principles of co-operation.

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WEST AFRICA

The English Co-operative Wholesale Society has decided to establish a system of exchange trade with the native merchants in West Africa. The C. W. S. takes palm kernels, which are shipped from West Africa to Liverpool, and extracts the oil from them in the African Oil Mills, recently purchased at a cost of \$600,000. The crushed seeds are also used for the manufacture of cattle feeding cakes, sold amongst the agricultural co-operative societies in the United Kingdom. It is stated that at one of the stations the C. W. S. was able to pay the native producers for goods purchased 10% more than any firm had ever paid them before. Hides, skins, cocoa-beans, ground nuts, ginger, and spices, as well as palm kernels and seeds are being dealt in now.

NEW ZEALAND

The Farmers' Co-operative Wholesale Federation of New Zealand (Ltd.), was organized at Wellington in May, 1915. Its object is the co-operative sale of produce, purchase of requisite goods, transportation of goods bought and sold, and other similar operations. In proportion to the size of the population, New Zealand has probably the largest agricultural Co-operative movement in the world. The largest of its associations is the New Zealand Farmers' Co-operative Association of Canterbury. It was established in 1881. In 1916 its turnover was \$17,477,164; its profits \$332,815 net; its number of stockholders, 7,564; its staff, 650; and it had no bills unpaid or under discount. Its activities are manifold, supplying farmers with well nigh everything they need from seeds to automobiles, operating its own factories for bacon curing and meat freezing, making butter and cheese and twine and cordage and fertilizer, maintaining warehouses, acting as a loan association, being its members' agents in almost everything. It maintains branches, agencies and offices thruout the British Empire.

Among the plans of the newly formed federation, composed of this and similar societies, is the establishment of a subsidiary concern to engage in the ownership and operation of seagoing vessels to carry the produce of the federation's members to Europe and America and to bring back necessary imports. It is intended to allocate a sum of not less than \$15,000,000 for the execution of this plan.

T. SINGER
C. W. PERKY
E. R. CHENEY

PART SIX

THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES¹

THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

The 1916 Presidential campaign of the Socialist Party was late in opening. When it did get under way it had constantly to struggle with the inactivity of the membership, and the lethargy of the public brought about by the impending war-cloud. The campaign was conducted by the National Office directly, the Campaign Manager acting as a subordinate official.

As usual the campaign fund was raised by contributions, by the sale of literature, and by charging admission to political meetings. It is interesting to note that in all five individual contributions amounted to \$100 each. All other contributions were of smaller amounts.

Benson, the candidate for President, spoke at sixty meetings; Kirkpatrick, the vice-presidential nominee, at sixty-one. Besides the candidates, Walter Millard, Caroline Lowe, W. A. Jacobs, William Garver, Mary Geffs, Theresa Malkiel and Florence Wattles toured the different sections of the country under the auspices of the National Office. Max Sherover was in charge of this branch of the work.

The campaign was unusual in the amount of literature distributed. A total of 22,039,500 leaflets was published and circulated. In addition 44,335 subscriptions to the *American Socialist* were sold.

The Benson leaflets were made a feature of the campaign. The table below shows how these were distributed.

Benson Leaflet #1.....	1,260,000	Benson Leaflet #6.....	1,750,000
" #2.....	1,470,000	" #7.....	2,000,000
" #3.....	1,650,000	" #8.....	2,200,000
" #4.....	2,000,000	" #9.....	2,500,000
" #5.....	2,000,000	" #10.....	3,000,000

The total cost of literature to the National Office was \$7,923.90. Up to November 1st, the total receipts from the sale of literature were \$5,860.75. Some literature is still on hand.

The National Office had manufactured supplies and novelties for the campaign. These included buttons, pencil clips, watch fobs, pennants, posters, and moving picture films. The total cost was \$2,456.47. The disposal of the stock brought in \$2,706.94 with some accounts outstanding. Some stock is still on hand.

¹ For an historical sketch of the Socialist movement in the United States and other material on this subject, see *American Labor Year Book*, 1916, Pt. III.

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY VOTE IN 1916

The Socialist Party vote in 1916 experienced its first decided setback in the United States, showing an absolute loss of 310,000 votes since 1912, and a relative loss of approximately 45%. The following figures give the presidential vote since 1900:¹

<i>Year</i>	<i>Socialist Vote</i>	<i>Total Vote</i>	<i>Per cent Socialist Vote of Total Vote</i>
1900	87,814	18,964,518	.6
1904	403,283	18,523,519	2.9
1908	420,713	14,837,133	2.9
1912	897,011	15,081,169	5.9
1916	590,294	18,518,710	3.2

The relative strength of the Socialist Party, as expressed by the presidential vote, is then approximately what it was in 1904.

The question may very properly be asked whether the presidential vote can be called a fair criterion of the true strength of the Socialist vote. Another possible criterion would be the sum of the votes cast for the Socialist candidates for Governor in the various states, and for U. S. Senator in those states where no gubernatorial election occurred. The vote of these states for these offices, as compared with the vote for President was:

<i>Number of States Compared</i>	<i>Socialist Vote for President</i>	<i>Socialist Vote for Governor or Senator</i>
42	530,455	544,701

Thus the gubernatorial and senatorial vote was only 14,000, or less than 3% in excess of that cast for Benson for President. The vote for President may then be considered a fair test of the strength of the Socialist vote.

RELATIVE SOCIALIST STRENGTH BY STATES

1. States where Socialist vote exceeded 10% of total vote:

<i>State</i>	<i>1912</i>	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>State</i>	<i>1916</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Oklahoma		16.4	Oklahoma		15.6
Nevada		16.4	Nevada		13.1
Montana		13.6			
Washington		12.4			
California		11.8			
Idaho		11.2			

2. States where Socialist vote comprised 5 to 10% of total vote:

<i>State</i>	<i>1912</i>	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>State</i>	<i>1916</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Oregon		9.8	Florida		6.6
Florida		9.3	Wisconsin		6.2
Arizona		9.1	Idaho		6.0

¹ The vote for the candidate of the Socialist Labor Party was 14,397.

SOCIALIST MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

<i>State</i>	1912	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>State</i>	1916	<i>Per cent</i>
Ohio	8.9		Washington	5.9	
Wisconsin	8.4		Arizona	5.5	
Texas	8.3		Montana	5.4	
Minnesota	8.2		Texas	5.1	
Utah	8.0				
North Dakota	7.9				
Illinois	7.1				
Louisiana	6.7				
Arkansas	6.6				
Pennsylvania	6.6				
Wyoming	6.5				
Colorado	6.2				
Indiana	5.6				
Kansas	5.6				
New Mexico	5.6				
Connecticut	5.3				
West Virginia	5.1				

3. States where Socialist vote comprised 3 to 5% of total vote:

<i>State</i>	1912	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>State</i>	1916	<i>Per cent</i>
Missouri	4.8		North Dakota	4.9	
Michigan	4.3		Minnesota	4.8	
Nebraska	4.1		California	4.8	
New York	4.0		Arkansas	4.2	
South Dakota	4.0		Kansas	3.9	
New Jersey	3.7		Oregon	3.7	
Iowa	3.4		Colorado	3.4	
Kentucky	3.4		Indiana	3.4	
Mississippi	3.3		Ohio	3.4	
			Pennsylvania	3.3	
			Utah	3.1	
			New Mexico	3.0	

4. States where Socialist vote comprised 1 to 3% of total vote:

<i>State</i>	1912	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>State</i>	1916	<i>Per cent</i>
Alabama	2.6		South Dakota	2.9	
Massachusetts	2.6		Illinois	2.8	
Rhode Island	2.6		New York	2.6	
New Hampshire	2.2		Wyoming	2.6	
Maine	1.9		Michigan	2.5	
Maryland	1.7		Nebraska	2.5	
Tennessee	1.4		Connecticut	2.4	
Vermont	1.4		Rhode Island	2.2	
Delaware	1.1		Iowa	2.1	
			Massachusetts	2.1	
			New Jersey	2.1	
			West Virginia	2.1	
			Missouri	1.9	
			Mississippi	1.7	
			Maine	1.6	
			Alabama	1.5	
			New Hampshire	1.5	
			Vermont	1.3	
			Maryland	1.0	

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5. States where Socialist vote comprised less than 1% of total vote:

State	1912	Per cent	State	1916	Per cent
Georgia .....		.8	Delaware .....		.9
Virginia .....		.6	Kentucky .....		.9
South Carolina .....		.3	Tennessee .....		.9
North Carolina .....		.05	Virginia .....		.7
			Georgia .....		.6
			Louisiana .....		.3
			South Carolina .....		.3
			North Carolina .....		.15

American Socialism seems, then, to have its chief strength, not in the manufacturing centers, but in those Western states where mining and farm tenantry prevail. In 1912 New York was the 29th state in point of Socialist strength, in 1916, the 24th; Pennsylvania in 1912 was the 19th, in 1916, the 18th; New Jersey, the 31st and the 32nd; Connecticut, the 25th and the 28th; Rhode Island, the 37th and 29th; Massachusetts, the 36th and 31st.

On the other hand, Oklahoma and Nevada were respectively the 1st and 2nd in both 1912 and 1916; while Montana was 3rd in 1912 and 8th in 1916; Washington, 4th and 6th; Idaho, 6th and 5th; Arizona, 9th and 7th; Florida, 8th and 3rd; Texas, 12th and 9th. In 1912, Florida, Ohio and Wisconsin were the only states east of the Mississippi who were in the first 15 states; while in 1916 Wisconsin and Florida were the only ones.

Reed College.

PAUL H. DOUGLAS.

SOCIALIST PARTY VOTE BY STATES, 1916¹

State	Vote	State	Vote
Alabama	1,916	Nevada	3,065
Arizona	3,179	New Hampshire	1,319
Arkansas	6,999	New Jersey	10,405
California	43,263	New Mexico	1,997
Colorado	9,963	New York	46,102
Connecticut	5,179	North Carolina	490
Delaware	486	North Dakota	5,716
Florida	7,894	Ohio	38,092
Georgia	966	Oklahoma	45,190
Idaho	9,122	Oregon	9,767
Illinois	61,394	Pennsylvania	42,637
Indiana	21,855	Rhode Island	1,914
Iowa	10,976	South Carolina	185
Kansas	24,685	South Dakota	3,486
Kentucky	4,734	Tennessee	2,542
Louisiana	292	Texas	22,546
Maine	2,186	Vermont	798
Maryland	2,674	Virginia	1,062
Massachusetts	11,058	Washington	18,952
Michigan	16,130	West Virginia	6,150
Minnesota	20,117	Wisconsin	27,846
Mississippi	1,484	Wyoming	1,458
Missouri	14,613		
Montana	9,564	Total	598,970
Nebraska	7,141		

¹ "The Appeal Almanac," 1917, p. 216.

SOCIALIST MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

BIENNIAL VOTE OF SOCIALIST PARTY, 1900-1912

State	1900	1902	1904	1906	1908	1910	1912
Alabama	928	2,312	853	839	1,399	1,683	3,029
Arizona	.....	510	1,304	1,995	1,912	.....	3,163
Arkansas	27	.....	1,816	2,164	5,842	9,108	8,153
California	7,573	9,592	29,533	17,515	23,659	47,819	79,201
Colorado	684	7,177	4,304	16,938	7,974	9,603	16,418
Connecticut	1,039	2,804	4,543	3,005	5,113	12,179	10,056
Delaware	57	.....	146	149	240	556	556
Florida	603	.....	2,337	2,530	3,747	10,304	4,306
Georgia	.....	.....	197	98	584	224	1,023
Idaho	.....	1,567	4,954	5,011	6,400	5,791	11,966
Illinois	9,637	20,167	69,225	42,005	34,711	49,396	31,249
Indiana	2,374	7,111	12,012	7,824	13,476	19,632	36,931
Iowa	2,742	6,360	14,847	3,901	3,237	9,635	16,967
Kansas	1,605	4,078	15,494	3,796	12,420	16,994	26,779
Kentucky	770	1,633	3,602	1,319	4,135	5,239	11,647
Louisiana	.....	.....	995	603	2,538	706	5,249
Maine	378	1,973	2,106	1,552	1,758	1,641	2,541
Maryland	908	499	2,247	3,106	3,323	3,924	3,990
Massachusetts	9,716	33,629	13,604	20,699	10,781	14,444	12,663
Michigan	2,326	4,271	8,941	5,994	11,586	10,608	23,211
Minnesota	3,605	5,143	11,692	14,445	14,527	18,363	27,606
Mississippi	.....	.....	393	173	978	23	2,061
Missouri	6,128	5,335	13,000	11,523	15,431	19,967	23,466
Montana	703	3,131	5,676	4,633	5,855	5,412	10,335
Nebraska	323	3,157	7,412	3,763	3,524	6,721	10,135
Nevada	.....	.....	925	1,251	2,103	3,637	3,313
New Hampshire	790	1,057	1,090	1,011	1,299	1,073	1,930
New Jersey	4,609	4,641	9,537	7,766	10,253	10,134	15,923
New Mexico	.....	.....	162	211	1,056	.....	2,359
New York	12,369	23,400	36,333	35,943	38,451	48,932	63,331
North Carolina	.....	.....	124	.....	345	437	1,025
North Dakota	513	1,245	2,017	1,639	2,421	5,114	6,966
Ohio	4,347	14,270	36,260	18,432	33,795	62,356	39,930
Oklahoma	315	1,964	4,443	4,040	21,799	24,707	42,263
Oregon	1,495	3,771	7,651	17,033	7,339	19,475	13,343
Pennsylvania	4,331	21,910	21,333	13,736	33,913	59,639	33,614
Rhode Island	.....	.....	956	416	1,365	529	3,049
South Carolina	.....	.....	22	32	101	70	164
South Dakota	169	2,733	3,133	2,542	2,346	1,675	4,663
Tennessee	410	.....	1,354	1,337	1,870	4,571	3,504
Texas	1,346	3,615	2,791	3,065	7,370	11,533	24,396
Utah	717	3,069	5,767	3,010	4,395	4,339	9,023
Vermont	371	.....	344	612	547	1,067	923
Virginia	145	155	213	.....	255	937	320
Washington	2,006	4,739	10,023	3,717	14,177	15,994	40,134
West Virginia	263	.....	1,572	2,311	3,679	3,152	15,336
Wisconsin	7,995	15,970	23,220	24,916	23,164	40,052	33,431
Wyoming	.....	553	1,077	1,327	1,715	2,155	2,760
Total	96,931	223,494	403,230	331,043	424,438	607,674	901,062
Presidential Totals.	96,116	.....	402,321	.....	420,973	.....	901,062

The Vermont vote of 547, in 1908, was for the state ticket. No electoral ticket was in the field. The vote in New Mexico and Arizona, in 1910, has never been compiled by the state authorities.

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GROWTH IN VOTE OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY AND THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

<i>Year</i>	<i>Soc. Party</i>	<i>S. L. P.</i>	<i>Total</i>
1888 .....	.....	2,068	2,068
1890 .....	.....	13,704	13,704
1892 .....	.....	21,512	21,512
1894 .....	.....	30,020	30,020
1896 .....	.....	36,275	36,275
1898 .....	.....	32,204	32,204
1900	96,931	33,405	130,336
1902	223,494	53,765	277,257
1904	408,230	33,546	441,776
1906	321,043	20,265	351,308
1908	424,488	14,021	438,509
1910	607,674	34,115	641,789
1912	901,069	30,344	931,406
1914	874,691	21,327	896,518
1916	597,000	14,398	611,398

SOCIALIST PARTY MEMBERSHIP

The following table shows the average paid-up membership for each year, beginning with 1903—the first year of which there is available record:

1903	15,975	1911	84,716
1904	20,763	1912	118,046
1905	23,327	1913	95,957
1906	26,784	1914	93,579
1907	29,270	1915	79,374
1908	41,761	1916	55,284
1909	41,470	1917 (10 mos.)	81,000
1910	58,011		

FOREIGN LANGUAGE FEDERATIONS OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY

<i>Name</i>	<i>Year organised</i>	<i>Members when organised</i>	<i>Present membership</i>
Finnish	1907	2928	9396
German	1913	3620	5150
Jewish	1913	1631	3214
Lithuanian	1915	1554	2262
So. Slavic	1911	1133	2604
Lettish	1916	900	900
Hungarian	1912	770	1027
Bohemian	1912	674	1421
Slovak	1913	431	867
Italian	1911	411	800
Scandinavian	1911	400	1404
Total		14453	29055

Dues per year to National Office.....	\$8,671.20	\$17,433.00
Wages per year for Secretaries.....	.....	10,768.00
Surplus to National Office.....	\$8,671.20	\$ 6,665.00

SOCIALIST MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

SOCIALIST ELECTORAL RESULTS IN 1917

Socialism's greatest triumph in America was achieved at the elections, Tuesday, November 6.

The New York Socialists received nearly one-fourth of the total vote in a four-cornered fight, while in Chicago the Socialist candidates polled one-third of the vote in a duel with the combined Republican and Democratic parties. The high percentages of course were polled in those cities having non-partisan municipal elections where the Socialist candidates had to face the old party political machines, united under the standards of anti-Socialism. This was the case in such cities as Toledo and Dayton, Ohio, and Reading, Pa., where the Socialists waged tremendous struggles under the two-candidate form of elections, getting from 40 to nearly 50 per cent of the total number of votes cast.

New York City flashed biggest on the nation's political map on November 6 by rolling up an unprecedented vote for Morris Hillquit, the Socialist candidate for mayor, by sending ten Socialists to the State Legislature, by electing seven Socialists to the city's board of aldermen and placing one Socialist as judge on the municipal bench.

Milwaukee is the only other city that has elected a large number of state legislators, aldermen and judicial candidates.

With the soldier vote still to be heard from, the New York city mayoralty results were as follows: Judge John F. Hylan, Democratic candidate, 297,282 votes; Mayor John Purroy Mitchell, Fusion, 149,307 votes; Morris Hillquit, Socialist, 142,178 votes, and William M. Bennett, Republican, 53,678.

Socialist Mayoralty Candidate Hillquit polled more than four times as many votes as Charles Edward Russell received as the party's candidate for mayor in 1913. Hillquit received more votes than were ever received by a Socialist candidate in any entire state; the highest state vote being that cast for Debs, for president, in Ohio, in 1912, when he received 89,930 votes. The vote cast for Hillquit passed that cast for William A. Cunneen, Socialist candidate for state's attorney of Cook county (Chicago) in 1912, during the greatest newspaper strike in that city, when the Socialist candidate received 111,441 votes. Hillquit's vote surpasses that cast for both the Socialist Party and the Socialist Labor Party in the entire nation in 1900; the totals at that time being, Socialist Party, 96,931; Socialist Labor Party, 33,405; for both, 130,336. It is expected that when the soldier vote has been counted Hillquit's vote will pass the 150,000 mark.

It was in 1910 that the Wisconsin Socialists invaded the Legislature of that state with a dozen representatives and two senators. In 1914 the Oklahoma Socialists sent a group of five representatives and one senator to the Legislature of that state. New York now passes Oklahoma and nearly equals Wisconsin

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by electing 10 Socialists, a formidable block, to the New York State Legislature.

In Milwaukee, Wis., the Socialists elected 27 aldermen, in 1910, while other cities that have been carried by the Socialist Party have had a goodly number of aldermen. After an uphill fight, Chicago has finally landed three Socialists in the city council.

A number of cities have elected Socialist officials and greatly increased the Socialist vote. Cleveland, O., elected two Socialist aldermen and a member of the school board. The Socialist vote has increased from 6,104 in 1915 to 21,403 this year. Rochester, N. Y., elected two Socialist aldermen, two supervisors and several other Socialist officials. Toledo, O., elected two more Socialist aldermen and reelected one of those it already has, making a total of three.

Though defeated in Dayton, O., the Socialists received nearly 45 per cent of the total vote; in Hamilton, O., the Socialists have elected two councilmen, two assessors, and have generally increased their vote; Piqua, O., elected a Socialist mayor and two aldermen; Byessville, O., elected a mayor, city clerk, city marshal and four out of six councilmen; Sandusky, O., reports the election of a Socialist commissioner. The Socialists of Elwood, Ind., elected the whole city administration with the exception of a few ward aldermen; Gas City, Ind., also elected a Socialist mayor and two aldermen; Marion, Ind., elected two Socialist aldermen, while Ft. Wayne, Ind., elected one alderman.

Allentown, Pa., reports the election of two Socialist aldermen, while Garrett, Pa., elected a Socialist burgess, council, a school director and other officials. Heavy increase in the Socialist vote is reported from other Pennsylvania towns.

Chicago Socialists had hoped to elect a few judges. There are about 500,000 registered men voters in Chicago. Last year, in a judicial election, Chicago polled only 171,000 votes. This year, due to increased interest, the vote went up to 215,056 in Chicago, and 244,913 in all of Cook county.

The highest fusion vote cast went to the Republican candidate, who received 156,678 votes. The highest Socialist vote was received by William A. Cunnea. It was 82,977. The other Socialist candidates were not far behind.

The Socialists carried three Chicago wards—the 15th, 2d and 24th—for their entire ticket. They carried three additional wards—the 9th, 27th and 28th—for part of the ticket. They came very near carrying several more. In the county outside of the city they swept 19 out of 29 towns, the Fusion ticket only winning out by carrying the big aristocratic suburbs of Evanston and Oak Park.

It can thus be readily seen that the Republicans and Democrats just saved themselves by combining against the Socialists, and that the Chicago Socialists would have made an excellent record had there been aldermanic and legislative contests on.

SOCIALIST MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

DIRECTORY OF PARTY OFFICIALS

I. *Socialist Party*

International Secretary:

Morris Hillquit, 30 Church St., New York, N. Y.

National Executive Secretary:

Adolph Germer, 803 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

National Executive Committee:

Victor L. Berger, 528 Chestnut St., Milwaukee, Wis.

Morris Hillquit, 30 Church St., New York, N. Y.

Anna A. Maley, 613 Washington Ave., S. E., Minneapolis, Minn.

Seymour Stedman, 803 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

John M. Work, 1217 Rosedale Ave., Chicago, Ill.

State Secretaries Socialist Party

Alabama — A. L. Feunberg, 1724 Third Ave., Birmingham.

Alaska — R. E. Hegner, Seldovia.

Arizona — Alice Eddy, 38 South Fourth Ave., Phoenix.

Arkansas — Freda Hogan, Huntington.

California — Cameron H. King, 670 Page St., San Francisco.

Colorado — Jennie A. McGehe, 1122 33rd St., Denver.

Connecticut — Martin F. Plunkett, 23 Wallace Bldg., Wallingford.

Delaware — Robt. Thompson, 702 Market St., Wilmington.

Dist. of Columbia — Julian I. Pierce, 311 E. St., N. W., Washington.

Florida — E. H. Lavender, Highway P. O., Jacksonville.

Georgia — Mary Raoul Millis, 229 E. 10th St., Atlanta.

Idaho — Myrtle Mauritz, Acting State Sec'y, Box 458, Nampa.

Illinois — O. C. Wilson, 803 W. Madison St., Chicago.

Indiana — Wm. H. Henry, Mansur Block, Indianapolis.

Iowa — I. S. McCrillis, Park Ave., Station, Des Moines.

Kansas — Ida Belooft, 304 Stewart St., Winfield.

Kentucky — J. L. Stark, 715 So. 6th St., Louisville.

Louisiana — J. R. Jones, Georgetown.

Maine — Fred E. Irish, 57 Chestnut St., Bath.

Maryland — Karl Hartig, 1468 Andre St., Baltimore.

Massachusetts — James Oneal, 885 Washington St., Boston.

Michigan — John Keracher, 512 Dix Ave., Detroit.

Minnesota — A. L. Sugarman, Room 1, 424 Second Ave., So. Minneapolis.

Mississippi — Ida M. Raymond, R. R. No. 3, Jackson.

Missouri — W. L. Garver, Route 3, Neosho.

Montana — Mabel Porter, 1144 Sampson Ave., Butte.

Nebraska — Mary N. Axtell, Voigville.

Nevada — Justus E. Taylor, P. O. Box 6, Reno.

New Hampshire — Fred E. Irish, 57 Chestnut St., Bath, Maine.

New Jersey — Milo C. Jones, 124 Market St., Newark.

New Mexico — Walter B. Dillon, Box 574, Albuquerque.

New York — U. Solomon, People's House, 7 East 15th St., New York.

North Carolina — Roy Swain, 2376 Sunny Side Ave., Winston-Salem.

North Dakota — H. R. Martinson, Box 717, Minot.

Ohio — A. Wagenknecht, 1921 Cook Ave., Lakewood.

Oklahoma — H. M. Sinclair, Scott Thompson Bldg., Oklahoma City.

Oregon — O. G. Johannessen, Acting State Sec'y, 231½ Oak St., Portland.

Pennsylvania — Robert B. Ringler, 628 Walnut St., Reading.

Rhode Island — John Bradbury, 391 Lonsdale Ave., Pawtucket.

South Carolina — Wm. Eberhard, 257 King St., Charlestown.

South Dakota — E. F. Atwood, Sisseton.

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Tennessee — G. J. Braun, 897 New York St., Memphis.
Texas — W. T. Webb, Cisco.
Utah — C. T. Stoney, 718 First Ave., Salt Lake City.
Vermont — David D. Smith, Websterville.
Virginia — C. S. Rab, 76 Poplar Ave., Norfolk.
Washington — Emil Herman, Box 491, Everett.
West Virginia — Edwin Firth, 1513 Seventh Ave., Huntington.
Wisconsin — Louis A. Arnold, Acting State Sec'y, Brisbane Hall, Milwaukee.
Wyoming — D. A. Hastings, 2303 Bent St., Cheyenne.

II. *Socialist Labor Party*

National Secretary:

Arnold Petersen, 45 Rose St., New York, N. Y.

THE SOCIALIST ADMINISTRATION IN MILWAUKEE

Milwaukee, one of the greatest industrial centers in the United States, and the metropolis of Wisconsin, unquestionably is the leading Socialist city in America.

Years before the Socialists were factors in the governments of any other city in the United States, Milwaukee Socialists were playing important rôles in the city government. For years Socialists have been members of the Common Council, the school board and the other so-called independent boards, which have supervision over certain divisions of the activities of the municipality.

The epoch of greatest Socialist triumph was from 1910 to 1912, when the entire city administration as well as the Milwaukee county administration were Socialistic. In 1910 Milwaukee elected its first Socialist mayor — Emil Seidel. For the first time in the history of the United States, a big city elected to its highest office a man running under the Socialist banner. During that two year period, Socialists presided over the various departments of the city governments and the Socialists had the majority in both the city council and the county board. Every important county office from district attorney to constable was held by a Socialist, or an appointee of the Socialist administration.

The Socialist city administration was elected in a three cornered campaign with the Republicans and Democrats. Although time honored political enemies, the Republicans and Democrats united forces in 1912, in what since has been known as the "nonpartisan" movement to "beat the Socialists." With the combined strength of the two old parties behind him, Dr. G. A. Bading, "nonpartisan" candidate, was elected mayor over Mr. Seidel, who was a candidate for re-election. Of course, the Socialists were not surprised that they were unable to register a victory over the united Republican and Democratic forces, although their vote was materially increased.

A Socialist regained control of the mayor's office in April,

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1916, when I defeated Dr. Bading, who had served as mayor for four years. There are twelve Socialists in the council, which numbers 37 members. Five of the fifteen members of the school board are Socialists and the last president of that board was Mrs. Berger, wife of Victor L. Berger, the first Socialist congressman. When elected to the presidency of the Milwaukee school board, Mrs. Berger attained the distinction of being the first woman to be so honored in any city in the United States.

Since the Socialists are in the minority in the council and council confirmation is required for all important appointments by the mayor, Milwaukee's city administration cannot be justly styled a Socialist administration. The mayor has the power to veto any measure passed by the council. But thirteen votes are required in the council to sustain the mayor's veto and there are only twelve Socialist aldermen, so it is within the power of the "nonpartisan" majority in the council to block any move initiated by me or any Socialist alderman. Nevertheless we have launched scores of propositions which we considered to be in the interest of the rank and file of Milwaukee's working class and citizenship and have fought consistently for their success.

Throughout the year that we have been in office, we have been confronted by tactics of obstruction on the part of the "nonpartisan" majority in the council. But this was not a new experience for me as I was familiar with the tactics of our political opponents, having served continuously as city attorney since the time of the first Socialist administration. No matter how meritorious a proposition, if inaugurated by a Socialist, it has but the slightest chance of receiving the support of the "nonpartisan" majority. At the very outset of my administration I was blocked by the "nonpartisan" aldermen in my attempt to name a new commissioner of public works. The common council majority has manifested the same attitude in connection with all other important appointments, which require council approval.

Because of the public sentiment in favor of it, the "nonpartisans" submitted to the Socialist program in connection with the municipally owned street lighting system, now being installed. For years Milwaukee had been poorly lighted, the antique system being owned by the Milwaukee Electric Railway and Light Company and the city paying \$65 per light per year. At frequent intervals for years the council had been asked to provide a better street lighting system. And in four different elections the voters went on record for a complete municipal system, including the generating plant as well as the distribution equipment. But thickly settled residence sections continued to remain in total or near darkness for lack of proper and sufficient street lights.

The Socialists, during their administration from 1910 to 1912, attempted to answer the cry for a better lighted city. They erected an auxiliary lighting plant, as the first step toward a

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complete municipal system, the establishment of which would mean that the lighting corporation, which is a wing of the North American Company, New York, would be cut off from the enjoyment of generous returns for poorly lighting the city's streets. Then T. J. Neacy, rich manufacturer and vigorous opponent of Socialism and organized labor, stepped into the limelight of publicity. Through a series of court proceedings he tied up the municipal plant until after the close of the Seidel administration in 1912. Finally we established Milwaukee's right, in the State Supreme Court, to go into the business of operating a plant to supply lights for its streets, buildings and parks.

Notwithstanding the Socialists' big step toward a municipal plant, the "nonpartisans" under Mayor Bading remained idle until the fourth and final year of his administration.

Two attempts, however, were made to railroad through a ten year contract to the corporation, which was defeated by the Socialists. Finally the "nonpartisans" heard the clamor for street lights and joined with the Socialists in voting for the installation of a municipally owned street lighting system. The "nonpartisans" did not stand for a complete municipal system, but Socialists are confident that a generating plant to supply the current to the distribution system, will be a reality within a few years. Actual work on the installation of the street lighting system was not started until after I assumed office. The system, which will cost more than a million dollars, will be nearly completed this year and will mark a new era in street lighting, according to the assertions of many authorities in this province of electrical engineering. The current will be bought temporarily from the lighting corporation.

The little auxiliary plant, built by the Socialists, continues to generate the current to operate the Milwaukee river flushing station. The "nonpartisans" have made frequent attempts to abandon it on the theory that it was inadequate to operate this station. They have gone so far as to empower the commissioner of public works to negotiate with the lighting corporation to operate the flushing station.

Any measure, affecting the earnings of the Electric Company, or other public utility corporation usually meets with "non-partisan" opposition in the council. There was an instance of this opposition recently when the council received a bill, which if enacted by the state legislature, would give the city the right to mortgage its successful municipal water works to finance the purchase of the Milwaukee Gas Light Company plant or any other public utility. The council denied approval of this bill, only five "nonpartisans" joining with the Socialists in support. Two days later, City Attorney Clifton Williams was informed in the answer of the gas company to his petition for lower rates, that the corporation made 23 per cent. dividends on its stock and

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realized \$1,413,000 last year. The answer came through the Wisconsin railroad commission, before which Mr. Williams will wage a fight for decreased gas rates.

A Socialist move to prevent aldermen and other city officials from engaging in business with corporations operating in Milwaukee, was killed in the council just as soon as the "non-partisans" had an opportunity to cast their votes against it.

To bring the city administration closer to the people and to afford an opportunity for non-Socialist progressive element to learn at first hand what was going on, I organized an advisory committee, which is comprised of representatives of the various civic organizations and with which I confer on all important city problems. We have supported the municipal harbor project, which, when completed, will make Milwaukee the greatest harbor on the Great Lakes. We have put life into the movement for proper city planning. I have also organized what is known as the City Beautiful and Public Safety Commissions.

I have fought for home rule and charter reforms to the end that the city might be permitted to own and operate the revenue producing public utilities. We consistently and publicly supported organized labor in its just demands and have done all in our power to make Milwaukee a bigger, better and brighter city.

DANIEL W. HOAN,
Mayor of Milwaukee.

THE SOCIALIST ADMINISTRATION IN MINNEAPOLIS

Socialist and labor forces of Minneapolis united in vigorous campaign work which resulted in November, 1916, in the election of Thomas Van Lear as mayor of the city. Minneapolis has a population of 360,000. In the primary election there were three principal candidates — W. G. Nye, Mr. Van Lear's predecessor; Mr. Otto Langum, sheriff of Hennepin County, and Mr. Van Lear, an official of the International Machinists' Union. The present mayor received 14,000 votes, as many as his opponents combined. Langum won the candidacy, having received 9,000 votes, while Nye polled only 5,000. Langum is a Scandinavian and it was thought that his nationality would be a great advantage to him in a community which is heavily Scandinavian. In the final election Van Lear received 33,444 votes, Langum 31,539.

Against the Socialists were pitted the three daily papers of the town, the commercial interests centered in the banks, the Twin City Rapid Transit Company, and the most influential clubs and churches. Behind the Socialist organization stood the labor movement of the city numbering some 17,000 men, their weekly, *The Labor Review*, and from twelve to fifteen thousand unaffiliated voters who desired an honest administration.

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From Socialist headquarters under direction of O. M. Wassing, was waged a ceaseless campaign of speaking and distribution of literature. Here also were collected a large part of the funds for the campaign. Generous contributions came from machinist locals everywhere in the northwestern district in which Van Lear was business agent. The Union Civic League, composed of three delegates from each of the trade unions affiliated with the Minneapolis Trades and Labor Assembly, did effective work throughout the campaign in both finance and propaganda.

THE POLICE DEPARTMENT

Minneapolis is not a home rule city and members of the state legislature from Hennepin County are influential in matters of legislation affecting the city. Former mayors through their power to appoint the civil service commission, controlled in a large measure all city employment. By an act of the last legislature, the mayor's appointments must be confirmed by the city council, which virtually cancels his control over the civil service commission, inasmuch as there are but four Socialist members in a council of twenty-six.

The mayor, however, names his chief of police. Chief Lewis Harthill was for many years a close associate of the mayor in the work of the machinists' union. Wiseacres shook their heads on account of his lack of experience but he has risen splendidly to the practical necessities of his work and is succeeding in making his ideals felt in his department. Chief Harthill has done excellent work in protecting transient labor from the rapacity of private employment agencies. He has established sympathetic working relations between the school department and his police force. In company with his precinct captains, he visits the schools in their districts, and talks to teachers and children. Officers are severely dealt with for any brutality toward truant or delinquent children. The policeman known as the "bull" is a disappearing quantity on the Minneapolis force. Incidentally, the pay of all police officers has been increased since January 1. Two janitresses in the city jail who do unusually hard and slavish work have had increases of fifteen dollars per month each.

STREET RAILWAY FRANCHISES

The Twin City Rapid Transit Company, controlling street car traffic within and between Minneapolis and St. Paul, has been for many years one of the most powerful factors in the political and economic life of the Twin Cities. Its special agents infest the state legislature and the city councils. Its demand for a renewed franchise based on a padded valuation and providing for a 30 year privilege was one of the local issues of the campaign. The

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mayor has stood for the right of the city to buy its street car system on one year's notice and for a valuation determined by the appraisal of experts selected by the city. The Twin City Rapid Transit Company sought vigilantly to defeat the mayor in the election and they have since been active in their efforts to unseat him.

MINNESOTA *PUBLIC SAFETY COMMISSION

One of the final acts of the Minnesota State Legislature of 1916-1917 was the creation of the Minnesota Public Safety Commission. The agents of the Twin City Rapid Transit Company closely supervised the formation of this commission and the definition of its powers, the following of which seem rather directly aimed at the Minneapolis administration:

"Said commission may require any person to appear before it or before any agent or officer of such Commission for examination and may examine any such person under oath as to any information within the knowledge of such person and to require such person to produce for inspection any writings or documents under his control. . . .

"Said Commission may inquire into the method of performance of his duty by any public official other than the constitutional officials of this state, and may advise the Governor to remove any such official from office, if in the judgment of the Commission the public interests demand such removal. Upon being advised to remove any such official by said Commission, the Governor is hereby authorized summarily to remove such public official."

However, the mayor is still in office and the franchise of the street railway company is still pending. The labor men of the city did not lie down with the election of their candidate. They have found their way into City Hall and they pack every council meeting in which a measure for which the mayor is contending comes up. Thus far their presence has succeeded in defeating all proposals calculated to give the street railway company any advantages in the franchise negotiations. Of greater importance than the positive things which the mayor has been able to accomplish are the spirit of solidarity and the sense of political power developed in the workers of the city.

ANNA A. MALEY.

SOCIALIST LEGISLATION IN WISCONSIN

During the 1917 session of the Wisconsin Legislature, the principles of Socialism were sponsored by three members of the Senate and seven members of the Assembly. The Socialist Senators were: William C. Zumach, Louis A. Arnold and Frank Raguse. The Socialist Assemblymen were: Frank B. Metcalfe,

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William L. Smith, Herman O. Kent, Henry Ohl, Jr., Gilbert H. Poor, Glenn P. Turner and William E. Jordan.

The activities of the Socialist members became manifest soon after the Legislature convened. A large number of measures affecting labor, public ownership, taxation and the general welfare of the public were submitted to the Wisconsin lawmakers for their consideration. It is needless to say that only a few of them succeeded in running the gauntlet of both houses, the more important of which were:

A bill fixing the minimum salary of teachers at \$45 per month. The bill originally provided \$80 but was amended to the first named figure.

A bill providing that all county employees be subject to civil service regulations.

A resolution providing for increased compensation for the members of the Legislature, the present salary being only \$500.

A resolution urging Congress, if deemed necessary, to appropriate all incomes in excess of \$10,000 during the war, to take over all railroads, mines, oil wells and storage warehouses and operate them without profit.

A bill providing for semi-monthly payment of state employes.

A bill giving cities the right to sell ice and fuel.

By far the greater number and the more important measures were destined for slaughter, among which were:

A resolution providing for a constitutional convention to frame a new constitution to take the place of the present document adopted in 1848, and which is out of harmony with present day needs.

A resolution calling on Congress to acquire possession of the coal mines.

A resolution against America's participation in the war.

A bill giving cities power to sell electric current to its inhabitants.

A bill to give representation to labor on certain educational institutions.

A resolution to empower cities to increase their bonded indebtedness for the purpose of purchasing public utilities.

A bill providing for a minimum wage of \$12 per week for women.

A bill providing that the public schools be made available for gatherings of citizens.

A bill providing for an eight hour day on all contracts for public work.

A bill providing for a universal eight hour day.

A bill providing for an eight hour day on public printing work.

A bill to prohibit the issuing of restraining orders in labor disputes.

A bill providing for one day's rest in each week for all wage-earners.

A bill providing for the furnishing of lunches to school children at cost.

Vetoed by the governor for constitutional reasons. Later a bill to cover the governor's objections passed.

A bill to regulate fees charged by employment agencies.

A bill authorizing cities to establish municipal loan departments.

A bill providing for a tax on the unearned increment of land values, and the gradual exemption of improvements and personal property from taxation.

A bill to increase the tax on excessive incomes.

A bill to increase the tax on large inheritances.

A resolution providing for home rule for cities.

A resolution empowering the state to establish public enterprises of any nature whatsoever.

A resolution permitting the state to increase its indebtedness for the purpose of establishing public enterprises.

A bill providing for old age pensions.

A resolution providing that the state retain the fee to all lands bordering on streams and lakes.

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A resolution empowering the state to develop its water powers, mines, land, forests, etc.

A bill providing for social insurance. A joint committee was appointed to investigate this very important subject and report to the 1919 Legislature.)

A bill to license private detectives.

A bill providing for a hospital of inebriates.

A resolution providing for the initiative and referendum.

A resolution calling on Congress to acquire the railroads.

A resolution providing for a state-owned printing plant.

A resolution providing for state-owned cold storage houses, warehouses, and grain elevators.

A bill providing for municipal ownership of public utilities, etc.

The efficient work of the Socialist members is, however, not reflected only in the measures presented by them. Their policy from the beginning was to bring about constructive legislation. All their measures were shaped with this end in view and they actively fought for them both in committee meetings and on the floors of their respective houses. They have taken a prominent part in the furthering of progressive legislation introduced by others. They have attempted by amendments and otherwise to improve pending bills before them. Their presence was felt in the defeat of legislation inimical to the interests of the working class and the public in general. They were attentively listened to and given a respectful hearing whenever they took the floor, and frequently through their efforts a good piece of legislation was saved or a bad one discarded.

As a result of the activity of the Socialists and with the co-operation of other members of the Legislature, the workmen's compensation act was materially improved upon, so that Wisconsin now has a more effective compensation act than any other state in the Union. Although the law is not what an ideal law on this subject should be, it is, nevertheless, a great step forward and will prove of immense benefit to the laboring class of Wisconsin.

The Socialists were again at the forefront in designing legislation on the subject of social insurance. Although no laws were passed affecting this important subject, a committee with a Socialist member thereon, was appointed to investigate the question thoroughly and to report its findings at the 1919 session and to recommend such legislation as it deems in the interest of the workers.

In the matter of industrial education affecting the boys and girls who have left the common schools and are compelled through economic stress to make their own living, good legislation has been passed. Under this law, the children concerned are required to attend a continuation or industrial school for eight hours per week during ten months of the year between the ages of 14 and 17 years, while receiving their regular compensation from their employers. This result was brought about

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after many years of agitation by Socialists and trade unionists.

Eight hour legislation met with little favor, although one bill, establishing an eight hour day on all public contracts with \$2.50 as the minimum for common labor and the prevailing wage as the minimum for skilled labor, passed the Senate, but was defeated in the Assembly. Other labor bills succeeded in passing the Assembly but were defeated in the Senate.

Bills relating to public ownership of public utilities and other enterprises had a rough time of it, although a Socialist bill passed, empowering municipalities, by a three-fourths vote of the common councils, to acquire coal yards and to engage in the ice business.

Another Socialist measure asking Congress to immediately seize, as a war measure, all coal and other mines, oil wells, railroads, warehouses, etc., passed both houses.

The Socialist program on the subject of taxation was embodied in three bills, which included the gradual elimination from taxation of all improvements and personal property so that at the end of ten years, the property tax would be levied only on the unearned increment of land values; a progressive income tax with a maximum rate of 25% on all incomes in excess of \$20,000; and a progressive inheritance tax with a maximum rate of 80% on the larger inheritances. These bills after an interesting debate, were defeated by a safe margin.

A measure providing for home rule for cities to free them from the limitations now imposed upon them, so that they can settle their own municipal affairs, including public ownership of enterprises, passed the Senate, but failed of adoption in the Assembly, in spite of the good efforts put forth in that house.

Whenever the Socialist members congratulated one another upon their success in passing a bill through either house, they did so with the surmise that it will meet with doom in the other house. This was the fate of numerous bills bearing the names of Socialist legislators. The frequency of these occurrences gave it the appearance that this was a game purposely played by the opposition. In so doing, the members of either house could lay claim to the fact that they supported labor and other good measures which were subsequently killed in the other house. It was a most desirable way for them to dispose of bills and at the same time make the boast of a labor record when election time came around.

The forces that were in control of the Wisconsin Legislature were of the reactionary kind, and it was not expected at the time the Legislature convened that a great deal of good would result from its deliberations. It was rather expected that efforts would have to be centered to retain whatever good legislation was then on the books. In the latter the Socialist delegation was in the main successful. Whatever good legislation was

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passed always had the solid backing of the Socialist group, and this same group was a determining factor in the prevention of legislation inimical to the welfare of the people.

The most disgraceful and cowardly incident of this session was the expulsion of Frank Raguse, Socialist, from the Senate. Senator Raguse in addressing the Senate on a resolution, attempted to explain why the working class was opposed to America's entrance into the war and criticized certain hypocritical and manufactured brands of patriotism rampant in this country. However, in doing so, he expressed himself in a somewhat awkward manner, which offended the dignity of some of the Senators. These Senators felt that if Raguse's remarks remain unchallenged that the impression would go out to the rest of the country that Wisconsin is disloyal. It was demanded that Raguse either sign a humiliating retraction or be expelled. Raguse submitted a signed statement in his own words showing exactly what he meant, and which could not in any way be construed that he was disloyal to his country. This was not satisfactory to those in power. They felt, or rather said, that the good name of Wisconsin was besmirched by him, and he must either sign the statement prepared by them or be expelled. Raguse refused to sign. He was expelled and the honor of Wisconsin was saved! The Senate was immaculate.

Incidentally, it may be remarked that had a Democrat or a Republican Senator spoken as Raguse did, there would have been no expulsion. The alleged disloyalty remarks were simply used as a pretext for his removal.

LOUIS A. ARNOLD,
Member Wisconsin State Senate.

CHARLES H. MORRILL IN THE MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATURE

Charles H. Morrill of Haverhill has been the only Socialist member of the Massachusetts Legislature during the past eight years. He has held office longer than any other Socialist in the United States — fourteen consecutive years.

He served as assistant assessor of taxes for Ward 5 of Haverhill from 1902 to 1909, and in the House of Representatives from 1910 to 1916, inclusive. During 1916 the opposition took advantage of the decennial apportionment and redistricting by gerrymandering his district. Though the added territory is overwhelmingly Republican, Morrill was reelected to the Legislature. The vote was: Morrill, Socialist, 2,239; ex-Senator Nason, Republican, 1,804; Wales, Republican, 1,598.

On May 1, 1917, he was elected delegate to the convention to revise the state constitution. As a legislator he holds the record for attendance, never having missed a daily session during the eight years. He has served upon four committees — taxation,

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education, social welfare and labor. During 1916 and 1917 he accepted the clerkship of the Committee on Labor.

He always supported all progressive legislation, and he has often led the fight before committees and the House for labor legislation. He has fought for the Initiative, Referendum, Recall, and Proportional Representation.

Among the measures he introduced or actively supported were:

1. A law compelling employers advertising for help to state the fact if a strike was in progress at their shop. This passed and is now the law.
2. A law relieving the condition of the unemployed by furnishing work on State buildings, improvements and highways. This proposition was introduced annually from 1910 to 1916, but has not yet been adopted.
3. A resolution calling on Congress to secure public ownership of steam railroads for the use of the Post Office Department.
4. A law permitting cities and towns to furnish meals free or at cost to school children. This act was passed in 1913.
5. A resolution (1910) calling on Congress to further arbitration in international affairs. This was introduced in the Senate, and supported by Morrill in the House. It passed.
6. A resolution favoring Parcels Post. Passed.
7. A resolution calling on Congress to take over the coal mines. Defeated in 1913. Passed in 1914.
8. With Senator Tinkham he secured the passage through the Legislature of an amendment to the State constitution permitting state-wide referendums. Voted on affirmatively by the people 206,689 to 77,767 (1913).
9. A resolution providing for Woman Suffrage. Passed in 1914 and 1915. Defeated in a referendum of the people.
10. A law repealing a previous law forbidding the carrying of the red flag.
11. A law providing pensions for poor mothers and widows. A substitute committee bill was passed (1913).
12. A bill providing that a majority vote cast by a city government be sufficient to submit to referendum the question of municipal ownership of lighting plants. Failed to pass.
13. A bill permitting a referendum on the calling of a Constitutional Convention. This was taken up by other parties and passed. A convention was called by the people to meet June 6, 1917.
14. A bill providing one day of rest in seven for railroad telegraphers (1914).
15. A bill providing for public ownership and operation of railways (1914-15-16).
16. An amendment to the constitution to permit municipal ownership and operation of fuel and ice businesses.
17. A resolution requesting Congress to facilitate naturalization. Sent to Congress.
18. A measure providing for the initiative and referendum for cities on important local affairs. Defeated.
19. A measure providing for proportional representation. Defeated.
20. A measure permitting cities and towns to provide summer outings for school children. Defeated.
21. A law permitting unions to enforce the contract labor law. Defeated in Senate.
22. A law giving minority parties representation on election boards. Defeated in Senate.
23. A law permitting cities to build municipal lighting plants. Defeated in Senate.
24. An amendment extending the "weekly wage" law. Passed.

Among other important bills, resolutions or proposed consti-

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tutional amendments introduced by Morrill during his several years of service were:

An amendment empowering 15,000 voters to initiate any proposed amendment of the state constitution which would then go to a vote of the whole electorate.

Constitutional amendment for uniform rates of taxation on personal property throughout Massachusetts.

Compulsory filing of lists of taxable property.

Election of judges by the people.

Exemption of union funds and homes of members from attachment to pay damages to manufacturers for loss of trade caused by the strikes where no breach of the peace occurs.

Legislative investigation of the Lawrence, Hopedale and Ipswich strikes to ascertain whether any laws had been violated or constitutional rights withheld, and to ascertain the truth relative to labor conditions. It helped settle the great Lawrence textile strike of 1912.

Pensions for city laborers injured in performance of duty.

A bill empowering cities and towns to permit citizens as well as ice companies to cut ice on public ponds.

Increasing the number of free state employment offices. Defeated in 1914 by a vote of 29 to 47.

Increasing the amount paid injured workmen under the workmen's compensation law.

Also increasing the amount paid to the parents or step-parents of workers who are killed.

A non-contributory old age pension system.

To permit unnaturalized persons to vote after filing first naturalization papers.

To reduce from six months to three months the residential requirement within a city or town (one year within the State retained) for registration of voters. Defeated in 1914 by a vote of 11 to 49.

To reduce to 1,000 the number of signatures required to nominate candidates for municipal offices in Boston, in place of 3,000 for mayor and 3,000 for the city council and school board.

To raise the age of employment in manufacturing, mechanical and mercantile establishment from 14 to 16 years.

To raise the age of compulsory school attendance from 14 to 16.

Resolution to Congress in favor of international peace and disarmament.

The right of peaceful persuasion or picketing during strikes.

An eight-hour workday for railroad and street railway employees.

Graduated income and inheritance taxes.

Direct election of United States Senators.

The eight-hour day for public employees.

Loan of state funds to aid the working class to secure rural homesteads. Passed in 1917.

Direct election of Railroad Commissioners.

Punishment of railroad and street railway officials as individuals for violation of laws.

Punishment for making false returns to the railroad commissioners and to stockholders.

Further extension of public playgrounds.

And all bills for the preservation and increasing of the health and happiness of the working class or tending to give them more power in the present class struggle.

SOCIALISTS IN THE CHICAGO COUNCIL

Three Socialists sit in the Chicago City Council out of a total membership of 70, two aldermen from each of 35 wards. The three Socialists are Charles V. Johnson, ninth ward; William

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E. Rodriguez, fifteenth ward, and John C. Kennedy, twenty-seventh ward.

The presence of Socialists in the city council was one of the results of the great newspaper strike of 1912. In the Fall of that year, with a daily, *The World*, having a circulation of more than 300,000 copies, the Socialist Party elected its candidate for state's attorney, William A. Cunnea, but he was counted out, as was later shown by a grand jury investigation. Four members were elected to the state Legislature, however, altho one of these was later unseated by a recount.

With this taste of victory, and in spite of the failure of their daily, the Chicago Socialists kept on fighting tenaciously, with the result that in April, 1915, two aldermen were elected, Kennedy for two years, and Rodriguez for an unexpired one-year term.

When Rodriguez came up for re-election one year later in 1916 he was re-elected by an overwhelming majority, getting 8,139 votes, 56 per cent of all the votes cast.

Alderman Kennedy came up for re-election this spring. The ward he represents has a population of about 125,000 persons of many nationalities. The local jingo press, especially the *Chicago Tribune*, directed most of its efforts in this municipal campaign to defeating Kennedy. By misquoting Kennedy's anti-war speeches, the *Tribune* sought to show that Kennedy was a traitor, that he was unpatriotic and should be ousted from the city council. Kennedy's utterances were investigated by a special committee of the city council, the charges were shown to be baseless and Kennedy was re-elected by a tremendous vote, getting more votes than all his opponents combined.

The same election, April 3, 1917, saw Johnson, an employe in the Pullman shops, elected to the council from the ninth ward, populated by workers in the big unorganized industries that center in South Chicago.

Alderman Wm. E. Rodriguez in his first term of eleven months to fill out an unexpired term, made an excellent record. His resolution providing that persons arrested for petty offenses be released on parole passed the board unanimously. He supported Alderman Kennedy's efforts to prohibit the importation of strikebreakers. This resolution passed the board but was vetoed by Mayor Thompson. He forced the investigation of police brutality during the garment workers' strike. He worked to improve school facilities and to improve the condition of the streets. He forced the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul railroad to abate the "smoky engine" nuisance.

Alderman Kennedy secured the passage of an ordinance requiring motormen and conductors to have ten days' training before being permitted to work on Chicago traction lines. This was vetoed, as stated above. He secured for firemen twenty-

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four hours off out of forty eight, instead of 24 out of 72. He fought for the right of Chicago teachers to organize. He fought against discrimination against the Garment Workers by the City Administration. He introduced resolutions calling for the establishment of municipal coal yards and gas plants, to serve the people at cost. He introduced a resolution, which was passed, calling for the forfeiture of the Automatic Telephone System for failure to keep its agreement with the city. His resolution to limit the budget so that it should not be in excess of the estimated income also passed.

J. L. ENGBAHL.

SOCIALISTS IN THE MILWAUKEE SCHOOL BOARD

There are five Socialist members of the Milwaukee Board of Education. The Socialist school directors have supported the interests of the working people and have endeavored to secure union wages and good conditions for the employees of the School Board. When representatives of the Building Trades appeared before the Board with demands for the eight-hour day and the prevailing scale of wages, the Socialist members supported them. They have also endeavored to introduce as many improvements and as much progressive work as possible, and have opposed all retrogressive measures and proposals. For instance, they have stood for the interests of the social centers and extension work.

The Socialist members have succeeded in passing in the Board a recommendation that the age limit of the school children shall be raised from 14 to 15 years.

Through the efforts of one of the Socialist members in committee, the expenses of the school audit were reduced from \$3,000 to \$1,500.

The Socialist members have secured the confidence of the school teachers of Milwaukee who have become convinced that the Socialists are their trusty friends.

When it was proposed that the members of the School Board should march in a body in the Preparedness parade, the Socialist members took the floor against the proposal, and the motion was, in consequence, withdrawn.

Only one resolution of an important nature has been adopted by the Board. It was the resolution to open the school halls for political meetings during political campaigns.

The Socialists have repeatedly introduced resolutions providing for free textbooks, which were never passed, and cannot be passed for lack of funds. It will be necessary for the legislature to increase the mill tax for the school fund before this measure can be adopted. While they have not been able to secure free textbooks, the agitation has been instrumental in

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getting a great many more free books in the schools, and in having textbooks sold at cost, etc.

Another important measure which is still pending, is the resolution introduced by one of the Socialist members, providing for a Teachers' Council, to consist of representatives chosen by the teachers and principals. It is strongly opposed by the bureaucratic members of the Board.

The Socialists have prevented various institutions, working for their own class interests, from using the schools, as, for instance, for merchants and manufacturers for advertising their schemes, the army and navy recruiting, etc.

They endeavored to have the union label placed on textbooks, but without success. They have fostered the evening schools, playgrounds and social centers against great opposition and have been able to get new features introduced in this work, as dancing, moving pictures, etc.—amusements which the average working child could not afford.

They have stood for gymnasiums and suitable halls for the various gatherings and social functions of the people being put in new buildings.

They have also opposed the refunding of \$30,000 which the non-partisans received in their city treasury, due to their efforts to reduce the tax rate.

The Socialist members have also introduced resolutions demanding: An increase of the mill tax for the benefit of the extension department (including the social centers).

A monthly financial report of all funds on hand and liabilities in each separate department. The reduction of the hours in the Girls' Trade School, and the closing of the school on Saturdays, in order to make it more of a school and less of a shop. The reduction of the size of the classes. The introduction of vacuum cleaners.

The Socialist members have also supported the other members in all progressive and useful measures, as, for instance, the introduction of penny lunches for school children.

E. H. THOMAS,
Member Milwaukee Board of Education.

THE CHRISTIAN SOCIALISTS

The Christian Socialist movement in the United States in the late 'seventies and during the 'eighties was sporadic in character but was led by very sincere and earnest men. Dissatisfied with the existing social order, having a keen discernment of the evolution of society and a penetrating vision of the future, they groped persistently for bearings from which to direct their shafts of denunciation and warning. They were fearsome of the word Socialism but were none the less vehement in their attacks upon

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the existing order and demands for a more Christian state of society. The Transcendentalists and others experimented with colonies, all of which had religion as a basis. During the last decade of the nineteenth century the word Socialism began to be used by them and the Socialist program presented as a theory or plan and considerable cohesion or unanimity appeared among the devotees. Among the leaders may be mentioned Rev. W. D. P. Bliss and Professors George D. Herron and R. T. Ely.

Probably the Episcopal church was the only one within which there arose a society bearing any semblance to a working class movement. This society was made up of a few parsons and pious women, and was called the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor, C. A. I. L. for short, and still exists. During its early career, under the inspiration of Rev. Father Huntington, an Anglican monk of the Order of the Holy Cross, and of other Single Taxers, it was quite radical, but of late years it has been rather colorless in its activities. To a few very radical Episcopalians is also to be credited the importation of a distinctively socialist organization from the mother Church of England, the Christian Social Union, which sprang from the Christian Socialist movement of Kingsley and Maurice, both priests of the Church of England. A branch of the Union was formed in 1893 with Right Rev. F. D. Huntington of the diocese of Central New York as president. The Union gave considerable promise and much was hoped of it by Bishop Huntington who was at heart a thorough Socialist; but, aside from issuing a few brochures, nothing came of it. Its ultimate affiliation with the Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor marked its quick decline.

The distinct advance of Socialist sentiment and movement among the church people of America was coincident with the spread of Socialism beyond the groups of the foreign born. At the national convention of the Socialist party in Chicago in 1902 there were among the regular delegates a number of clergy and lay-officials of different churches. Since that date two Christian Socialist organizations have been formed and are now very active, with the avowed purpose of extending the principles of Socialism among church people of America.

The first and largest of these is the *Christian Socialist Fellowship*, an interdenominational organization with offices in Chicago. It was organized in Louisville, Kentucky, in June, 1906. From the beginning its General Secretary has been Rev. Edward Ellis Carr, Ph.D. It publishes a weekly and monthly paper called *The Christian Socialist*, with office in Chicago. It has over fifty branches and a large proportion of its members are allied with the Socialist movement and party. It holds annual and frequent district conferences. Through its general offices and local centers, Socialist sermons and lectures have been delivered in thou-

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sands of churches. Millions of copies of the official paper of the Fellowship have been circulated to preachers, teachers and social workers. Churches, Y. M. C. A.'s and colleges are opened to the message of Socialism as put forth by the Fellowship.

In 1911 the Church Socialist League in America was organized by a few clergy and lay-people of the Episcopal church. For some years there had been a strong and very pronounced Socialist league in England. The organization of an American Church Socialist League was fortunate, as the pulpits of the Episcopal church are not generally open to clergy of different denominations. As the influence of the Episcopal church is greater throughout the country than in proportion to its numbers, so is it with the League. Its influence within the Episcopal church is not at all measured by its numerical strength. In spite of the conservatism of the Episcopal church and of its numbering many leading capitalists of the country among its members, yet that church has officially adopted radical and even revolutionary resolutions, and the influence of the Church Socialist League is discernible as giving color to them. A considerable share of the clergy are tinctured with Socialism. With but 6000 clergy, several hundred are avowed Socialists and nearly one hundred are members of the Socialist party. The League is able to present the parallel demands of militant Socialism to this communion as no other society can. Rev. A. L. Byron-Curtiss is the National Secretary, and the official organ is a quarterly, *The Social Preparation*, the official address of both being Utica, N. Y. Officers and Executive Committee embrace the following well known names:

President: Rt. Rev. Paul Jones, D.D. *Vice-Presidents:* Rt. Rev. William A. Guerry, D.D., Rt. Rev. Benjamin Brewster, D.D., Rev. Eliot White. *Executive Committee:* Rev. G. Israel Browne, Rev. William H. Tomlins, Very Rev. Bernard I. Bell, Rev. A. L. Byron-Curtiss, William F. Cochran, M. H. Reeves, E. M. Parker, Vida D. Scudder, Charlotte E. Lee, Ellen Gates Starr.

A. L. B.-C.

THE YOUNG SOCIALIST MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

As explained in the Labor Year Book, 1916, the Young People's Socialist League began its career as a national organization in May, 1913. Since that time its membership has been growing steadily and its influence also has been increasing. During the past year one new State Federation, Connecticut, was added to those already organized, making six in all. A city federation was organized in Chicago, Ill., which in one year raised the number of affiliated organization from 6 to 13 and brought the membership up to 800.

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The number of organizations in the various states and their membership is given below, the asterik showing an organized state.

<i>State</i>	<i>Number Leagues</i>	<i>Members</i>
California	4	69
Connecticut *	6	158
Colorado	2	65
Dist. of Columbia	2	60
Delaware	1	7
Idaho	1	13
Illinois	17	900
Indiana *	14	450
Iowa	1	12
Maryland	3	50
Massachusetts *	8	250
Michigan	2	150
Minnesota	3	75
Missouri	2	80
Nebraska	1	35
New Jersey *	19	600
New York *	31	1230
Ohio	5	195
Pennsylvania *	16	375
Rhode Island	2	50
Washington	2	60
Wisconsin	4	83
Total	147	4951

CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES

Several changes were made in the constitution of the Y. P. S. L. during the year 1917. The method of electing the National Secretary has been changed so as to give the leagues direct control over the selection of this official. Exempt stamps have been provided for members who have been unable to pay dues regularly. The leagues which conduct their business in the Jewish language have held a convention to co-ordinate their work and pay 3¢ per month per member extra dues to pay the expenses of a secretary.

ENDORSED BY SOCIALIST PARTY

The Y. P. S. L. was represented at the Emergency Convention of the Socialist Party held at St. Louis, Mo., April, 1917. The work done by the League was acknowledged and praised on every hand and the following resolution was adopted without a dissenting vote:

"WHEREAS, it has been clearly shown that one of the most fertile and promising fields of Socialist propaganda lies among the youth of the working class, since their minds are less hampered by prejudice and ignorance; and once brought into our movement their longer potential period of service makes them of greater value to us than any others, and

WHEREAS, it has been shown that the Young People's Socialist League wherever organized and conducted in sensible co-operation with the Socialist Party has been a highly effective and eminently satisfactory means of effecting the purpose above related; bringing into our movement a lot of otherwise unattainable 'young blood' with more free enthusiasm and

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loyal spirit; with more serious attention to purely educational work, and above all a fine spirit of social comradeship so sadly lacking in many of our older organizations — in short, it has shown itself to be an indispensable and essential part of the Socialist movement, therefore be it,

RESOLVED, that this convention of the Socialist Party, assembled in St. Louis, April 7th to 15th, 1917, go on record as approving the organization of the young into the Young People's Socialist League, and that we heartily congratulate them upon their growth and extend our best wishes for future progress, and be it further

RESOLVED, that we urge every local of our Party to do its best to help and encourage in every way the organization and maintenance of such Y. P. S. L., that we impress upon writers, editors, organizers, and other officers, the need of helping along this movement, and be it finally,

RESOLVED, that the National Executive Committee be instructed to further this most necessary work in every way that lies within its power."

The Committee on Organization elected by the convention embodied the following proposals in its report:

"We urge all comrades and all locals throughout the nation to give every aid and encouragement to the organization and maintenance of Young People's Socialist Leagues, and that the following steps be taken in this connection to carry out this recommendation:

1. That Y. P. S. L. leaflets be included in every general distribution of literature by the Party, that the present shortage of good reading matter for the young be pointed out to our writers and educators, and that the Socialist press generally be asked to give publicity to matters helpful to this cause.

2. That young party members be strongly urged to get in the Young People's Organization, thus forming the backbone of a worth while body to which many other young people will be attracted, and thru it interested in the principles of Socialism.

3. That every local elect one capable comrade who takes real interest in this matter to take the work in hand immediately, to start a Y. P. S. L. where none as yet exists and to encourage and assist in those that have already been formed. In this work it is recommended that there be close co-operation with the Young People's Department of the National Office, which is in position to supply all necessary information and material.

4. That all state organizers, secretaries, and speakers be urged to give their attention to this promptly.

5. That after young Socialist organizations are started there should be the closest co-operation between the old organization and the young. Some provision should be made to have the young participate in every activity, as has been the case in this convention where the ushers, messengers and other necessary detail work are furnished by the Y. P. S. L.

We urge all locals to take this action at the earliest possible time. To reach the young is our immediate concern, and we should leave no stone unturned to aid in building up a strong movement of young people throughout the nation."

PRESS AND LITERATURE

The official organ of the Y. P. S. L., *The Young Socialists' Magazine*, now has a larger circulation than ever before. Through the efforts of hard working New York comrades it was possible to put it up in much more attractive form than heretofore, hence an even greater increase in circulation is expected. In addition to this organ many league organizations get regular allotments of space in local papers, and several special

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papers have also been issued. The National Office has, during the past year, published a Song Folder, an Organization Manual, and four leaflets which have attained a combined aggregate circulation of 350,000. A special Young People's Edition of the *American Socialist* reached a circulation of 90,000.

CONCLUSION

Taken all in all, the year just passed has been one of decided progress for the Y. P. S. L. There have been no tactical battles here such as have torn the older movement, and while communication with the International Office was always uncertain we have co-operated cordially wherever possible. The League is now working in a National Championship Contest whose aim it is to serve as an exchange depot for good organization, educational, and entertainment ideas. The plan is working out with very fine results. There is better co-operation among the League itself, and a better basis of understanding with the Socialist Party than ever before and all indications favor even greater progress this year than was made last.

WILLIAM F. KRUSE,

National Secretary, Young People's Socialist League.

THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY IN 1916

The Socialist Labor Party entered the year 1916 with a spirit of determination and energy. Perceiving that the trend of events was leading the country, not only nearer to war, but toward a permanent (permanent, barring Socialism) militarism and intensified industrial autocracy, the party began preparations for what turned out to be the most intense and active national campaign for the Socialist Labor Party principles carried on in many years.

Already in the early stages of the world war the party made its position clear on the questions of militarism and national defense. In its address to the parties affiliated with the International Socialist Bureau (issued January, 1915), the party outlined its position on the European war. In a letter sent to the Copenhagen Conference, we stated (after reviewing briefly the theory of nation defense) that "so long as this theory (of national defense) is adhered to, a repetition of the present mass-murder of Europe's proletariat may occur at any time. Nothing can prevent a capitalist class of one country, through its various agencies, from starting a war with another nation, unless the respective Socialist parties are organizing the working class industrially, i.e., for the immediate overthrow of capitalism." And referring to the International we stated later in the same letter:

"Lack of proper economic organization is the mediate, and

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the superstition of 'nationalism' the immediate cause of the downfall of the International."

When in 1916, therefore, we at the very outset commenced our campaign on the burning question of the hour—"preparedness"—basing our arguments on the principle that the workers have no interests in militarism in any form, having no interest in defending a country in which they as yet owned nothing, and whose political institutions had largely outlived their usefulness, we did so in line with our previous pronouncements. Throughout the entire campaign we reiterated the principle above-mentioned, coupling it with that other declaration that without the industrial organization of the working class with which to enforce the will of the proletariat as expressed through the ballot box, the Socialist and Labor movement was doomed to defeat.

PLATFORM

Our National Convention adopted a platform and resolutions in keeping with these principles. The platform adopted by the National Convention April 30, 1916, and ratified by the membership through a referendum, reaffirms "its previous platform declarations, reasserts the right of man to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

It continues:

"We hold that the purpose of government is to secure to every citizen the enjoyment of this right; but taught by experience we hold furthermore that such right is illusory to the majority of the people, to wit, the working class, under the present system of economic inequality that is essentially destructive of their life, their liberty, and their happiness.

"We hold that the true theory of economics is that the means of production must be owned, operated and controlled by the people in common. Man cannot exercise his right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness without the ownership of the land on, and tools with which to work. Deprived of these, his life, his liberty and his fate fall into the hands of that class which owns these essentials for work and production.

"We hold that the existing contradiction between social production and capitalist appropriation—the latter resulting from the private ownership of the natural and social opportunities—divides the people into two classes: the capitalist class and the working class; throws society into the convulsions of the class struggle; and perverts government in the interests of the capitalist class.

"Thus labor is robbed of the wealth it alone produces, is denied the means of self-employment, and, by compulsory idleness in wage slavery, is even deprived of the necessities of life.

"Against such a system the Socialist Labor Party raises the banner of revolt, and demands the unconditional surrender of the capitalist class.

"In place of such a system the Socialist Labor Party aims to substitute a system of social ownership of the means of production, industrially administered by the working class,—the workers to assume control and direction as well as operation of their industrial affairs.

"This solution of necessity requires the organization of the working class as a class upon revolutionary political and industrial lines.

"We therefore call upon the wage workers to organize themselves into a revolutionary political organization under the banner of the Socialist Labor Party; and to organize themselves likewise upon the industrial field

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into a revolutionary industrial union in keeping with their political aims. "And we also call upon all other intelligent citizens to place themselves squarely upon the ground of working class interests, and join us in this mighty and noble work of human emancipation, so that we may put summary end to the existing barbarous class conflict by placing the land and all the means of production, transportation, and distribution into the hands of the people, as a collective body, and substituting the Co-operative Commonwealth for the present state of planless production, industrial war and social disorder—a commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization."

Resolutions on "Preparedness" were, as already stated, adopted in keeping with the party's previous utterances on this and kindred questions. Resolutions were also adopted on attitude on economic organization. In these resolutions the craft union form of labor organization is condemned, and the industrial union form endorsed as the only form of economic organization that will be able to serve the interests of the proletariat. "Neutrality" toward economic organizations of labor on the part of a political party of Socialism is condemned, and declared to be equivalent to neutrality toward organizations supporting capitalism.

NATIONAL CAMPAIGN

Arthur E. Reimer of Boston was nominated for the Presidency. Reimer was also the party's candidate in 1912. Caleb Harrison of Chicago was nominated as Vice President. Both these men, and several others, were kept steadily in the field the greater part of the campaign. The Presidential candidate covered almost every state in the union outside of the southernmost states. For exercising his rights of free speech and assembly, Reimer was thrown into jail in Butte, Mont., while Harrison met with a similar fate in Homestead, Pa.

Over a million and a half leaflets were distributed during the year, not including those printed and distributed by the local Sections. The membership was unusually active in this respect.

The vote of the party declined in the last election, as did that of the Socialist Party. In 1912 33,070 votes were cast for the Socialist Labor Party. In 1916 14,398 votes were cast. The decline in votes is chiefly due to the fact that we were practically disfranchised in a number of states. Owing to changes in the election laws of Ohio the party failed to get on the ballot in that state, a state which promised to yield a better vote than before, mainly because of the intensive work done there. In Wisconsin an eleventh hour change in the election law made it impossible for us to get the number of signatures required to get on the ballot. Due to misunderstanding no ticket was put up in Colorado, and on account of the large financial outlay required in such states as California, Oregon and other states, we failed to get on the ballot in those states. It is safe to say that the vote cast for the Socialist Labor Party at the 1916

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election represents no more than one-third or one-fourth of the vote it was entitled to—entitled to even under the present conditions, with two parties claiming to represent Socialism in the field, and with the larger party reaping the benefit of much of the sentiment created by the smaller.

MEMBERSHIP

The party is organized in about 30 different states, and had a membership of 3,185 on Dec. 31, 1916. It is almost certain that another foreign language federation with more than 700 members will be added during the year 1917. While the party is not growing phenomenally, it does make progress, which in the face of an almost unified opposition, and with an—at present—apathetic working class, may in itself be considered somewhat of a phenomenon.

PRESS

The party published the following weekly papers:
Weekly People (English official organ); *Arbetaren* (Swedish); *Volksfreund und Arbeiter-zeitung* (German); *Proletareets* (Lettish); *A Munkas* (Hungarian); *Radnicka Borba* (South Slavonian).

It is expected that a Jewish weekly will be launched in the near future.

FOREIGN LANGUAGE FEDERATIONS

Five Language Federations are affiliated with the party. They are: the Scandinavian Socialist Labor Federation, the South Slavonian Socialist Labor Federation, the Hungarian Socialist Labor Federation, the Lettish Socialist Labor Federation, and the Jewish Socialist Labor Federation.

These federations are affiliated with the party in the manner of a state organization. They are an integral part of the party. They pay a regular per capita tax into the National Treasury, using the due stamps of the national organization. The ownership of their papers and property is vested in the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party, and all editors of papers published by them must be endorsed by the National Executive Committee of the party. Their constitutions and by-laws are subject to approval by the National Executive Committee and must contain all fundamental provisions of the national party constitution.

Each federation is represented on the N. E. C. by one member, and in the national convention of the party by one delegate for every 50 members or fraction thereof.

The federations are active and do good work. The last to join officially was the Scandinavian federation, though it had been all but formally affiliated with the party for years.

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UNITY WITH THE SOCIALIST PARTY¹

The party having received an invitation from the Socialist Party to hold a joint unity conference, this question was considered by the National convention. A "basis and form of unity" was adopted, containing a set of minimum and maximum demands insisted upon by the Socialist Labor Party as conditions for unity. This unity document was ratified by an overwhelming vote of the party membership.

Briefly the minimum demands were:

(a)—As to aim: Abolition of the capitalist system and establishment of collectivism, i.e., Socialism.

(b)—As to political action: Declaration in favor of uncompromising revolutionary political action.

(c)—As to economic action: Declaration in favor of industrial unionism, and a condemnation, generally, of craft unionism.

(d)—As to militarism and war: Declaration to the effect that military establishments are maintained partly for the purpose of crushing working class rebellion and partly to protect foreign interests of the capitalist class.

Prohibition (on the part of elected officials) to vote for men or money, for war or militarism under pain of expulsion; to vote for preparedness either on an increased or the present scale. Also a declaration to the effect that the workers "have no country to defend but a country and a world to gain from the capitalist class of this country and of the world.

(e)—As to form of unity: The federative plan was insisted on as the only one which at this time could safeguard the principles which the S. L. P. holds to be vital for the success of the revolution.

A series of "maximum demands" were also presented, demands which the S. L. P. was prepared to waive if necessary in order to effect unity.

The Socialist Party delegates refused to accept the most important of our minimum demands. The joint conference did agree on the two first "minimum demands," but deadlocked absolutely on the question of economic action and the *form* of unity, and officially the conference did not reach the question of militarism and war. While the Socialist Labor Party is absolutely in favor of unity *in principle*, it is the consensus of opinion among the party members generally that unity can only be established on certain definite principles which the Socialist Labor Party regards as being vital for the success of the movement. Chief among these is the principle of industrial unionism. It may safely be said that until the Socialist Party is ready to accept what we regard as a *Socialist basis* of unity, and a *form* of unity that will sufficiently protect the integrity of our organization in the event of another split, the Socialist Labor Party is prepared to continue the battle along the lines it has heretofore followed, confident of final success.

With reference to the present war situation it might be stated that the party is determined to carry on its propaganda for

¹ For a fuller account of the Unity Conference, see Oneal's article in another part of the volume.

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Socialism at all costs. Particular stress will be laid on the fact that capitalism is the cause of this and other modern wars, and the workers will be urged to organize in such a manner as to make impossible a repetition of the butchery now taking place.

Local sections of the Socialist Labor Party cooperated with locals of the Socialist Party in anti-war propaganda in many cases with gratifying results.

Despite the war the outlook for the party is the best, and the members are, as said, prepared to continue the work in earnest.

ARNOLD PETERSEN,
National Secretary, Socialist Labor Party.

THE UNITY CONFERENCE OF THE S. P. AND S. L. P.

The Unity Conference between the Socialist Party and the Socialist Labor Party, held in New York City on January 6, was the result of efforts in both parties by members who hoped that a basis for amalgamation of the two parties might be reached.

In response to an invitation of the Socialist Party the Socialist Labor Party in its national convention held in New York City on May 2, 1916, accepted the invitation and at the same time adopted a statement of its attitude on various questions that divided the two parties. This statement outlined the minimum and maximum conditions upon which unity could be had. The main conditions were that the "united party condemns generally craft unionism" and supports industrial unionism, the statement quoting two paragraphs from the trade union resolution of the Stuttgart International Socialist Congress of 1907 in favor of this proposal. Another important decision was that, pending complete unity, "the S. L. P. must insist that the unity of the two parties must represent a federation of two distinct bodies, each retaining its organization in its integrity and each enjoying a proper amount of self-government and of representation in the governing bodies of the movement." This federation included separate jurisdiction over members and ownership of publishing agencies; enlargement of the National Executive Committee from five to seven members, the S. L. P. to have two members; the sub-divisions to attach themselves, "on the basis of proportional representation to local and state organizations of the present S. P.," and "in case of failure to agree with the S. P. majority on questions of principle and policies, not conflicting with any basic principles of the agreement, the S. L. P. reserves unqualifiedly the right to advocate publicly such views upon its own subdivisions' responsibility."

The complete statement was referred to the membership of the S. L. P. for a general vote and the matter was presented in the following two questions:

- "1. Shall the action of the convention in accepting the invita-

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tion of the Socialist Party for a unity conference be endorsed?

"2. In the event of a unity conference and subsequent unity between the two parties, shall the basis and form of unity adopted by the convention be adopted by the party?"

Sixty-seven "sections" and five foreign federations, representing about 1,500 members, voted in the referendum and the actions of the convention were approved with little opposition.

The complete statement of the S. L. P. on unity was printed in the supplement to the *American Socialist* of July 15, 1916, with a comment of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party. This comment complained that the S. P. always had in mind "Complete organic union," but that the S. L. P. insists that there can only be a "federation of two distinct bodies." The committee further complained that the federation plan would preserve and recognize "all the essential divisions and schisms of the two parties"; that it would permit a party within a party, with its own press and literature, and advocating principles and policies rejected by the majority; that it would permit one city to have two locals supporting different policies and disputing over them, and objecting to a representation that would give the S. L. P., with a membership of less than one-thirtieth of the membership of the S. P., two-sevenths or nearly one-third of the members of the National Executive Committee. It also questioned the propriety of the S. L. P. in publishing conditions for unity in advance of any conference.

However, a conference of delegates representing the two parties met in the World Building, New York City, on January 6. The Socialist Labor Party was represented by Caleb Harrison of Chicago, Rudolph Katz of Paterson, N. J., Arthur E. Reimer of Boston, Arnold Petersen of New York City and Boris Reinstein of Buffalo. The Socialist Party was represented by Samuel E. Beardsley and Louis B. Boudin of New York City, George H. Goebel of Newark, and James Oneal of Boston. Charles H. Maurer of Reading, Penn., was absent owing to illness.

The first question raised in the conference was as to whether the S. L. P. delegates, considering the character of their instructions, had any power to modify the S. L. P. demands and recommend any such modifications to their organization. Much time was spent on this question, the S. P. delegates claiming that if no such recommendations could be made a conference was useless, as it would result in a volume of printed speeches and nothing more. After a caucus the S. L. P. delegates stated that they had power to recommend modifications of the minimum demands.

The conference resumed its work, but it soon became apparent that the two parties were as far apart as ever. Only the main questions that divided them are mentioned here.

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The first deadlock occurred over the attitude of the united party toward the trade unions. The S. L. P. offered its declaration condemning craft unionism and endorsing industrial unionism and quoted the following paragraphs from the Stuttgart resolution in support of this:

"To emancipate the proletariat completely from the bonds of intellectual, political, and economic serfdom, the political and economic struggle are alike necessary.

"The development of the capitalist system of production; the increased concentration of the means of production; the growing alliances of employers; the increasing dependence of particular trades upon the totality of bourgeois society—(all this) would reduce trade unions to impotence if, concerning themselves with nothing more than trade interests, they took their stand on corporate (craft) selfishness, and admitted the theory of the harmony of interests between capital and labor."

For the declaration of the S. L. P. on trade unions the S. P. delegates offered the entire Stuttgart resolution which reads as follows:

"To emancipate the proletariat completely from the bonds of intellectual, political, and economic serfdom, the political and economic struggle are alike necessary. If the activity of the Socialist Party is exercised more particularly in the domain of the political struggle of the proletariat, that of the unions displays itself in the domain of the economic struggle of the workers. The unions and the party have, therefore, an equally important task to perform in the struggle for proletarian emancipation. Each of the two organizations has its distinct domain, defined by its nature, and within whose borders it should enjoy independent control of its lines of action, but there is an ever-widening domain in the proletarian struggle of the classes in which they can reap advantages only by concerted action and by cooperation between the party and the trade unions.

"As a consequence, the proletarian struggle would be carried on more successfully and with more important results if the relations between the unions and the party are strengthened without infringing the necessary unity of the trade unions.

"The Congress declares that it is to the interest of the working class in every country that close and permanent relations should be established between the unions and the party.

"It is the duty of the party and of the trade unions to render moral support the one to the other and to make use only of those means which may help forward the emancipation of the proletariat. When divergent opinions arise between the two organizations as to the effectiveness of certain tactics they should arrive by discussion at an agreement.

"The unions will not fully perform their duty in the struggle for the emancipation of the workers unless a thoroughly Socialist spirit inspires their policy. It is the duty of the party to help the unions in their work of raising the workers and of ameliorating their social conditions. In its parliamentary action, the party must vigorously support the demands of the unions.

"The Congress declares that the development of the capitalist system of production, the increased concentration of the means of production, the growing alliance of the employers, the increasing dependence of particular trades upon the totality of bourgeois society, would reduce trade unions to impotency if, concerning themselves about nothing more than trade interests, they took their stand on corporate selfishness and admitted the theory of harmony of interests between capital and labor.

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"The Congress is of the opinion that the unions will be able more successfully to carry on their struggle against exploitation and oppression, in proportion as their organizations are more unified, as their benefit system is improved, as the funds necessary for their struggle are better supplied, and as their members gain a clearer conception of economic relations and conditions, and are inspired by the Socialist ideal with greater enthusiasm and devotion."

After considerable debate over these two proposals the S. L. P. delegates decided to accept the S. P. proposal if the following interpretive paragraph should be added to it:

"In line with the above resolution, and carrying out the spirit and applying the general principles expressed therein, the United Party declares that the proper application of it to American conditions calls for the party's pointing out the fallacies and shortcomings of the craft union form of organization and the necessity for adopting the Socialist industrial union form of economic organization."

The S. P. delegates declined to accept this addition as they regarded it as practically a revival of the S. L. P. original proposition which had been rejected. By a strict party vote the conference failed to agree on any declaration regarding labor unions. Both sides held to the respective positions their parties have held to for years. History, experience and theory were appealed to without either side making concessions.

The form of organization was then taken up. The Socialist Party delegates stated that the S. P. could not accept the federation plan proposed by the S. L. P. as in their judgment unity could not be secured by it. On being asked for a counter proposal the S. P. delegates offered two as follows:

First proposal: "That the Socialist Party and the Socialist Labor Party be united upon a basis of complete and organic unity, and that, upon accomplishment of union, the membership of both parties constitute the membership of the United Party."

"The Socialist Labor Party to have the right to make disposition of its property and the future use of the same, including the continuance of the publication of their newspapers, books, pamphlets, etc., as they may see fit."

Second proposal: "That the Socialist Labor Party forego the right of making any nominations in National and State elections. Nominations of candidates in such elections to be made at Socialist Party conventions, in which the Socialist Labor Party is to be represented on the basis of proportional representation, with a vote on nominations and platform. The Socialist Labor Party to contribute to campaign expenses in the same proportion."

"That a National Socialist Council of fifteen members be created, eleven members to be elected by the Socialist Party and four to be elected by the Socialist Labor Party, said council to manage national campaigns."

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"Similar councils to be arranged on the same basis in states where both parties now have state organizations to conduct state campaigns.

"Said councils may also extend their activities to such matters as may from time to time come up and be of interest to both organizations."

The S. L. P. delegates consulted on these two proposals in caucus and finally announced that they would accept the second one on condition that the S. P. delegates accepted the S. L. P. proposal on industrial unionism. This bargain was declined. The discussion which preceded the vote was mainly as to the technical advantages or disadvantages the S. L. P. would incur if the S. P. proposal was accepted. It soon became evident that the conference had failed of its purpose and another strict party vote on this question confirmed it. Nevertheless, the S. L. P. delegates desired to take up the question of "Militarism and War" which the S. P. delegates declined as useless. The conference did not end without some discussion attempting to fix responsibility for the failure to agree.

A stenographic record of the proceedings was taken and after being edited by the secretaries of the two committees will probably be published. Those who care to read the discussions in detail are referred to the volume when it appears. Copies of the transcribed proceedings are at the headquarters of the respective parties.

Here a word may be said in answer to those who affirm that one side or the other was to "blame" for the failure to reach an agreement. Unity could have been secured if the S. L. P. had consented to accept the declared position of the S. P. on the important questions considered in the conference. It could have also been secured if the S. P. delegates had been willing to make a similar surrender. Or it could have been secured if both sides had been convinced by the discussions that each should make some concessions and agree on some compromise. The stenographic record will show that any one of these three decisions was impossible. Both sides were sincere in believing the other wrong.

Frankly considering this, it is idle to try to attach "blame" to one side or the other. Only experience and history can determine which organization is best adapted for its purposes, and even in this case the side proven wrong cannot be "blamed" for not taking a "correct" position, if the sincerity of both is conceded. And those who read the stenographic record will not be inclined to question the good intentions of the members of the conference.

JAMES ONEAL.

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THE NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT ST. LOUIS, APRIL 7-14, 1917

Although the European war had been a subject of engrossing interest to Socialists in America, two years of discussion had failed to crystallize into definite form any specific program of action. The quarrel between the American and German governments precipitated by the submarine notes of January, 1917, found the party unprepared. A referendum was initiated which was met with universal approval that a national convention be held to discuss the party's attitude on war as well as to take up other matters pertaining to the welfare of the movement. It was expected that the convention would assemble about the end of Summer.

When the government at Washington severed diplomatic relations with Germany, and war was seen to be inevitable, a convention was called by the National Executive Committee to meet in St. Louis early in April, though the party membership had no time to complete the vote in the referendum providing the time, place and method of representation at the Convention.

The omission of the national convention in 1916, which is now seen to have been a tactical error, left unsettled a host of questions not in the least related to the war. The St. Louis Convention which was called to grapple with the exigencies of war, found itself called upon to modify the Constitution of the Socialist Party and to settle upon an attitude toward the Non-Partisan League, questions which in themselves deserve weeks of careful thought and discussion.

The American Socialist Party was never confronted with so grave a crisis as that which it faced in St. Louis. That the crisis was faced bravely and without flinching is a tribute to the courage and clear-sightedness of the delegates. That the stand taken at St. Louis was the right one is evidenced by the tremendous enthusiasm evoked by the decision of the Convention, and by the extraordinary growth of the party since April.

When the Convention opened on the morning of April 1, 192 delegates representing 44 states and 10 fraternal delegates without votes or membership on committees, and representing the foreign language federations were present. Morris Hillquit of New York was elected temporary chairman. In his opening speech, Mr. Hillquit rapidly traced the development of the International, and its collapse at the beginning of the European War. He spoke of the omission of the 1916 Convention as a grave error. He outlined the probable effect of the war on America, and stated that the Socialist Party was "the only considerable organized force which has still retained a clear vision." He urged the Socialist Party to oppose the war, even after it had begun. He pointed out that the war would not be one merely

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of money, but that men would be sent to the trenches, that at home unreason would rule, and liberties would be sacrificed. He urged the party to fight the war profiteers. He spoke of the Russian Revolution, and predicted that the war would be ended by the rebellious working class of Europe.

After temporary and permanent organizations were effected, it was determined to elect the following committees: War and Militarism; Constitution; Platform; Resolutions; Organization; Ways and Means.

The most important of the committees, that on War and Militarism, and on which representatives of various opinions were chosen, was composed of the following:

Kate Richards O'Hare, Mo.; Morris Hillquit, N. Y.; Kate Sadler, Wash.; Patrick L. Quinlan, N. J.; C. E. Ruthenberg, O.; Dan Hogan, Ark.; Algernon Lee, N. Y.; Louis B. Boudin, N. Y.; Job Harriman, Cal.; John Spargo, Vt.; Maynard Shipley, Md.; Frank C. Midney, O.; Walter B. Dillon, N. M.; Victor L. Berger, Wis.; and George A. Spiess, Conn.

The Committee on the Constitution consisted of the following: Anna A. Maley, Minn.; John C. Kennedy, Ill.; U. Solomon, N. Y.; Walter Thomas Mills, Cal.; Thos. W. Williams, Cal.; L. E. Katterfeld, Wash.; William Henry, Ind.; George H. Goebel, N. J.; and Winfield Gaylord, Wis.

The Committee on the Party Platform consisted of: Jas. Oneal, Mass.; Walter Millard, Ky.; J. M. Barnes, Pa.; L. A. Stanwood, Okla.; Ludwig Lore, N. Y.; Murray E. King, Utah; Jos. Thomas, Wash.; Cameron H. King, Calif.; and Wm. Patterson, O.

The Committee on Organization was made up of: Duncan McDonald, Ill.; Jennie McGehe, Colo.; A. Wagenknecht, O.; Elda B. Conly, Ida.; Mary Raoul Millis, Ga.; Wm. Henry, Ind.; J. N. Houchin, Okla.; S. J. Mahoney, N. Y.; J. M. Caldwell, R. I.

On Monday, April 9, John Spargo read his report on the Non-Partisan League. In his report he outlined the history of the League, its organization, its growth, its effect on the Socialist Party in those States in which it had made progress.

The old question of fusion with non-Socialist bodies was thus revived. Mr. Spargo summarised as follows his findings about the growing farmers' organization in the Northwest: "The Non-Partisan movement is thus far a purely agrarian movement. It has a program of collectivism devised to assist the farmer and to relieve him from economic oppression and exploitation by railroad companies, elevator companies, commission men and bankers. Utterly undemocratic in its management, it is completely democratic in its political functioning. Its appeal to the farmer in those states where farmers are a majority of the electorate, is practically irresistible. Its methods, which require that its members vote for League candidates regardless of their affili-

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ations in national politics, while obviously massing a maximum of political power back of the program, are quite inconsistent with the usages and the organic law of the Socialist Party. It is quite obvious that so long as the League lasts and adheres to its present policy of breaking down party lines, there can be no effective Socialist Party movement in the states where the League is strong, unless we change our party law and make it possible for our members to work through the League in state politics where they so desire, to co-operate with it."

The following resolution was passed after a heated discussion, by a vote of 114 to 56:

Whereas, a new political party called the National Non-Partisan League, that according to the report made upon the same by Comrade Spargo to this convention, offers promise of speedily acquiring political power for a certain division of the industrial class of the United States, viz.:—the toilers of the soil, and

Whereas, in North Dakota and other states it appears that large numbers of comrades have affiliated with the league in the hope of speedy economic reforms through political victory under the banners of the League, and such movement being already at work in many other states with a fair promise of success in all, and it being apparent that the National Non-Partisan League presents a problem for solution that must be met and must be solved if the Socialist Party is to continue as a political or social force in such states as are invaded by the League. It being further manifest that many of the comrades in such League States propose to affiliate with the said League, merely for the reason that they mistake the mission of the Socialist Party.

It, therefore, becomes the duty of this convention to reaffirm the principles of Socialism, and declare the position of the party in the performance of its historic mission.

Now, therefore, be it resolved; that the Socialist Party being the political arm of the working class in its fight for industrial freedom, and its power resting mainly in its clear cut, specific declaration of political and economic principles, rather than in the number of votes cast for party candidates, and the purpose of the Socialist movement being the emancipation of the working class from economic servitude, rather than the election to office of candidates, it is, therefore, declared to be the sense of this convention, that all state organizations facing the solution of this question be urged to remember that to fuse or to compromise is to be swallowed up and utterly destroyed; that they be urged to maintain the revolutionary position of the Socialist Party and maintain in the utmost possible vigor the propaganda of Socialism, unadulterated by association of office seekers, to the end that the solidarity of the working class, the principles of international Socialism may continue to lay the foundations for the social revolution.

The social revolution, not political office, is the end and aim of the Socialist Party. No compromise, no political trading.

On Wednesday morning Kate Richards O'Hare reported for the Committee on War and Militarism. Three reports were presented. Morris Hillquit read the report of the majority of the committee, which was signed by eleven members; Boudin and Spargo each submitting minority reports. After a spirited discussion lasting all of Wednesday and Thursday, the majority report was adopted by the Convention, receiving 141 votes. Boudin's report, signed by three members of the committee, and

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substantially supporting the position of the majority report, received the support of thirty-two delegates (31 votes), while five delegates supported Spargo's report, which attempted to justify the present war.¹

The Ways and Means Committee reported a deficit of \$30,000 and suggested that each member be taxed twenty-five cents to meet this deficit. This motion was carried.

John C. Kennedy, of Ill., reported for the Constitution Committee. A number of minor changes in the old Constitution were made. The one change of importance was the elimination of Art. II, Sec. 6 from the constitution. This was the famous "sabotage" section incorporated in 1912. The National Committee was abolished, and an Executive Committee of 15, three to be elected from each of five territorial sub-divisions, was substituted.

James Oneal, of Mass., reported for the platform committee. J. Mahlon Barnes, of Penn., offered a minority report which was adopted. The immediate demands in the majority report were added to the Barnes report. The platform as adopted by referendum of the membership is as follows:

SOCIALIST PARTY PLATFORM

PREAMBLE

The majority of hired workers in America, whether rendering service by hand or brain, are victims of poverty, or near poverty, and are insecure in their employment and ever live in fear of want.

This is the fact because they are underpaid. The wages or salaries they receive are only a small part of the wealth or value they produce and such wages or salaries are insufficient to maintain a decent standard of life.

Poverty of the masses, in a land of abundance like America, is the greatest of all modern crimes.

The wage worker is not free, because he can work only by the consent of the owners of jobs.

The owners who do not work and the workers who do not own the industries, each naturally seek to protect and advance their own interests. Both seek to maintain the share they now get and to secure more for themselves by taking something from the other. The clash of these interests creates the class struggle.

Because of this class struggle the workers organize in labor unions, co-operative societies, and in the Socialist Party. The owners organize into employers' associations, commercial bodies, and citizens' alliances. They also control and dominate the great political parties. Labor's principal weapons are strikes and boycotts. The capitalists respond with lockouts, blacklists, court injunctions, and the intimidation, imprisonments, hangings and mass murder. This terrible class warfare is world wide and a grave

¹ Neither of the minority reports having received the required number of votes (60) they could not be submitted to the membership. Thereupon a statement was drawn up by those not in accord with the declarations of the majority report, and having obtained the required number of signatures of delegates (50), was sent forth with the referendum as a substitute for the majority report. It was submitted to the party as the minority report. The majority report was ratified in the referendum of the party membership and became the expressed policy of the party on the present war. See the section on Labor and War for the text of the majority report.

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menace to civilization. Its abolition is the most important and vital issue confronting the human race.

The present system of production and distribution is known as the capitalist system to distinguish it from the several systems which preceded it, such as chattel slavery and the feudal system. Under capitalism there are two distinct classes, the capitalist class and the working class. The capitalist class is maintained by the taking of rents, interest and profits.

The working class, owning no industries, lives by getting wages. The worker sells the only thing that he owns, his power to labor. This power to labor lessens with the advancing years.

Controlling the government, the capitalist class makes laws in its own interest. Behind these class laws is every instrument of the government to make sacred and defend the private ownership of land and industries and the special privileges by which labor is robbed.

Thus the economic question is a political question. How you live is a political question of momentous importance. The theory of a democratic government is the greatest good to the greatest number. The working class far outnumbers the capitalist class. This is the natural advantage of the working class. By uniting solidly in a political party of its own it can capture the government and all its powers and use them in its own interest.

The Socialist Party aims to abolish this class war with all its evils and to substitute for capitalism a new order of co-operation, wherein the workers shall own and control all the economic factors of life. It calls upon all workers to unite to strike as they vote and to vote as they strike—all against the master class.

Only through this combination of our powers can we establish the co-operative commonwealth, wherein the workers shall own their jobs and receive the full social value of their product. The necessities of life will then be produced, not for the profits of the few, but for the comfort and happiness of all who labor. Instead of privately owned industries, with masters and slaves, there will be the common ownership of the means of life and all the opportunities and resources of the world will be equal and free to all.

This magnificent goal represents the supreme ideal of the human race. As such it is to the highest interest of every human being to join in the struggle of the working class and help fight to a finish the battle which will free all men and women and lift them to a position infinitely higher and better than can ever be possible so long as the system of capitalism endures.

IMMEDIATE PROGRAM

The following are measures which we believe of immediate practical importance and for which we wage an especially energetic campaign:

Political Demands

1. Complete adult suffrage by the elimination of all sex, residential and educational qualifications, by the abolition of all registration fees, poll taxes, or other impediments to voting. Enfranchisement of those who have declared their intention to become citizens and have resided in this country one year.
2. Democratic control of the government through a constitutional amendment providing for the initiative, referendum and recall.
3. Proportional representation of all representative bodies.
4. The abolition of the powers of the courts to make and unmake laws because of alleged unconstitutionality or other grounds.
5. Rigid maintenance of the right of free press, speech and assemblage in peace and in war.
6. Resistance to compulsory military training and to the conscription of life and labor.
7. Repudiation of war debts.

Economic Demands

1. National ownership and democratic control of the railroads, telegraphs and telephones, steamship lines, and all other social means of transportation, communication, storage, and distribution.

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2. Nationalization of banking and of socially beneficial kinds of insurance.
3. Direct loans to municipalities and states at cost.

Further Demands

The following measures do not exhaust by any means the ways by which the workers can be helped to freedom. They are compiled as suggestive of further activity to that end.

1. Abolition of the Senate and the veto power of the President.
2. Direct election of the President and Vice-President.
3. Immediate curbing of the power of the courts to issue injunctions.
4. Direct election of all judges of the United States Courts for short terms.
5. Free administration of law and the creation of public defenders.

Industrial Demands

1. Complete abolition of child labor.
2. A legal minimum wage based on the ascertained cost of a decent standard of life.
3. Full protection for migratory and unemployed workers from oppression.
4. Abolition of private employment, detective and strike breaking agencies, and the extension of the Federal Employment Bureau.
5. A shorter work day in keeping with increased industrial productivity.
6. An uninterrupted rest period of one and a half days in each week.
7. Freedom of industrial and political activities of the workers.

General Demands

1. Taxation to be raised from graduated taxes on incomes and inheritances and from site values.
2. Adequate higher educational facilities for the entire youth of the nation, and such contribution to family resources as will enable the youth to remain in contact with such facilities until they are fully equipped for their economic and social careers.
3. Government support, by loans and other methods, to farmers and workers' co-operative organizations.
4. The retention and extension of the public domain and the conservation and full development of natural resources by the nation.
5. Pensions for mothers, for invalidity, and old age.

Among the resolutions presented to the convention and adopted were some protesting against illegal arrest, one calling for an International Socialist Congress, one protesting against censorship of motion pictures, one commending Congressman London for his work, a resolution suggesting that the National Executive Committee act as advisors to Socialist Congressmen,—a resolution protesting against the misuse of the Party Press.

The following resolutions on the relation of the Socialist Party to Labor Organizations was also adopted:

Political organizations and economic organizations are alike necessary in the struggle for working class emancipation. The most harmonious relations ought to exist between the two great forces of the working class movement—the Socialist Party and the labor unions.

The labor movement of the United States has of recent years made marvelous progress in all directions. It has steadily increased in numbers and has reached trades and industries which were before unorganized. It has in many instances concentrated its power and increased its efficiency by the amalgamation of related trades into federations and industrial unions. Many unions have opened their meetings and journals to the discussion of vital social and political problems of the working class, and have repudiated the demoralizing politics represented by the National Civic Federation. The organized workers are rapidly developing an enlightened and militant class consciousness.

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The reality of this progress is attested by the increasing virulence with which the organized capitalists wage their war against the union. This improved economic organization is not a matter of abstract theory, but grows out of the experience of the wage workers in the daily class struggle.

The Socialist Party, therefore, calls the attention of the men and women in the labor unions to the vital importance of the task of organizing the unorganized, especially the immigrants and the unskilled laborers, regardless of race, who stand in greatest need of organized protection and who will constitute a great menace to the progress and welfare of organized labor if they remain neglected. The Socialist Party will ever be ready to co-operate with the labor union in the task of organizing the unorganized workers, and urges all labor organizations, which have not already done so, to throw their doors wide open to the workers of their respective trades and industries, abolishing all onerous conditions of membership and artificial restrictions, with the view that their organizations be eventually developed into industrial, as well as militant, class-conscious and revolutionary unions with the development of the industries.

In the face of the tremendous powers of the American capitalists and their close industrial and political union, the workers of this country can win their battles only through a strong class-consciousness and closely united organization on the economic field, a powerful and militant party on the political field and by joint attack of both on the common enemy.

It is the duty of the party to give moral and material support to the labor organizations in all their defensive or aggressive struggles against capitalist oppression and exploitation, for the protection and extension of the rights of the wage workers and the betterment of their material and social condition. It is also the duty of the members of the Socialist Party who are eligible in the unions to join and be active in their respective labor organizations.

On the motion of Patrick J. Leonard, of N. H., the Convention sent the following telegram of congratulations to the Russian Socialists:

N. S. Tchcheidze, Russian Duma, Petrograd.

We, the Socialist Party of the United States, in national convention assembled, send fraternal greetings to the Socialists and workers of the Russian republic, and hearty felicitations upon their glorious victory in behalf of democracy and social progress.

We feel confident that you will take advantage of your newly acquired political liberties to join hands with us and the Socialists of the world in a concerted movement for the establishment of a speedy and lasting peace on the basis of democracy, justice and progress, so that the workers of the world may resume their struggle for the economic and political emancipation of their class. Long live the international solidarity of Socialism.

The substance of the reports of the Executive Secretary as well as of the Young People's Department and the Foreign Language Federations will be found in other parts of the Year Book.

On April 14 the Convention adjourned sine die.

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